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CALAIS UNDER ENGLISH RULE

CALAIS
UNDER ENGLISH RULE

BY

G. A. C. SANDEMAN

CHRIST CHURCH

OXFORD

B. H. BLACKWELL, 50 & 51, BROAD STREET

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PREFATORY NOTE

THIS essay was one of the two awarded the Arnold Prize for 1908. It has been but little altered from its original form, save for some slight additions, due to kind suggestions from Lord Dillon and Mr. C. H. Firth.

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1. References to Chancery Rolls are given thus :

R. O.	=Record Office.
S. R.	=Staple Rolls.
E. R.	=Extract Rolls.
F. R.	=French Rolls.
M.	=Membrane.
Thus R. O. F. R.	=Record Office French Rolls.
108, M. 16	=Number 108, Membrane 16.
20 H. VI.	=refers to regnal number in Record Office Catalogue.

2. P. of P. C. =Proceedings of Privy Council.

3. R. of. P =Rolls of Parliament.

CALAIS UNDER ENGLISH RULE

INTRODUCTION

Two or three episodes in the history of English rule in Calais are familiar to all. "Every schoolboy knows"—to use the tiresome phrase of a famous historian—that the burgesses of Calais knelt before Edward III. with halters round their necks; that Henry VIII. met Francis I. near Calais at the Field of Cloth of Gold; and that Queen Mary made some remark to the effect that Calais would be found lying in her heart. But how little more! The history of the Scottish Marches is commemorated in the ballads of Aytoun and in the novels of Scott. The wild warfare of the Welsh border has been idealized in fiction, and methodically described, campaign by campaign, by careful historians. Professor Seeley, in a brilliant series of lectures, has stimulated the interest of Englishmen in their colonies. But the history of the first of English colonies is as little known to Englishmen as that of Dutch Sumatra or of French Pondicherry. Its commercial position is incidentally portrayed in treatises on the Staple, while its military annals must be painfully evolved from the bulky chronicles of the Hundred Years War.

The reasons for this neglect of Calais are not hard to discover. Its capture forms one of the most discreditable episodes in the history of English misgovernment, and no one loves to dwell on discreditable episodes or

upon the events which led up to them. Moreover, it is true that the history of Calais is inextricably mixed up with the history of England and France, and that its political, commercial, and military importance are dependent upon, and relative to, English affairs. Nor are the materials available wherewith a connected history of Calais should be written. Much valuable material was doubtless destroyed in 1558, and enlightenment upon the institutions, government, and social condition of Calais must be sought in gleanings from the Records of the Privy Council, from the Rolls of Parliament, and from such illustrative documents as may be chanced upon in the study of mediæval literature or records. Any attempt, therefore, at a succinct history of Calias is doomed to dulness probably, and to imperfection almost certainly. A tantalizing glimpse at some novel or curious institution is rendered futile by the inability to follow out its history or ascertain its origin, while a conglomeration of illustrative extracts culled painfully from the scattered annals of a series of years will not fail to weary the luckless reader. Such French writers as have attempted the history of Calais—Bernard or Lefebvre—were painstaking annalists, but no more, and pursued the historical method of a century and a half ago. Bernard, for instance, with the naïveté of Herodotus, affirms that the name of the town of Oye is derived from the Latin "anser," owing to the number of geese exported from the district, and gravely upholds the opinion of Calais antiquaries of his day that the geese who saved the Capitol were almost certainly natives of the Calais district.[1]

Yet if the materials are scanty, and the subject at first sight painful to Englishmen, in reality neither

[1] Bernard, "Annales de Calais et du Calaisis," p. 541. St. Omer, 1715.

interest nor instruction nor romance is lacking to the history of Calais. It was the first English colony, and as a colony it was in a sense unique, for Calais is the only instance of a colony founded on the Greek system—the ousting of the native population in favour of an immigrating community of the conquerors. Moreover, it is an almost exact mediæval counterpart of the modern Gibraltar, and as such may have its lessons for modern statesmen. Commercially, its history forms a most absorbing period in the rise of English trade, and illustrates the tentative experiments of our Kings to formulate a sound commercial policy. The history of the municipal changes at Calais is an interesting example of the blending of French institutions with English, while the quarrels between Staple and Municipality incidentally make clear some intricacies and anomalies of town-government in the Middle Ages. Again, Calais is an excellent example of the importance of maritime supremacy, which has been entirely neglected by even the most brilliant exponents of the influence of sea-power on history. But if romance is required, the military history of Calais will provide it. The story of how John of Lancaster, captured by the French and confined at Guisnes, fell in love with a laundry-maid, and, effecting his escape by her aid,[1] became the means whereby Guisnes was captured for the English, may be an eighteenth-century fabrication, but the entry of Guise into Calais disguised as a peasant rivals Alfred's venturesome entry into the Danish camp at Wilton ; while the tale of Aymery de Pavia's treachery and the midnight repulse of de Charney's attempt on Calais, or any of the numerous stories in Froissart of duels and frontier fights, and ambushes and tournaments, or last, but not

[1] R. Calton, "Annals and Legends of Calais," pp. 131, 132.

least, the desperate struggle waged in January, 1558, by the English garrison, already vastly outnumbered and without hope of reinforcement, proves that the military history of Calais, like all other border warfare, was not without its picturesque incidents.

There are, broadly, only two divisions of Calais life—military and commercial. And even these are dependent on each other. Without commerce, Calais would not have been worth keeping, and a garrison would not have existed ; without a garrison, the Calais merchants would not for a moment have been safe from French aggression. So that Calais existed for commerce, and the garrison existed for the protection of commerce and Calais. Everything else was subsidiary either to the military or to the commercial organization. Thus, the Municipality only existed that there might be regulations for the housing, deportment, and safeguarding of the commerce-pursuing inhabitants. Thus, the Church existed only that the religious needs of the merchant might be met. So it was with Justice. Thus, again, the Captain and the royal officers practically existed only that the garrison might be kept obedient, and might receive its wages, and that the Crown might receive its proper proportion of the commercial revenues of Calais.

The plan of this essay, then, will be to sketch the history and organization of the military and commercial life of Calais, dealing on the one hand with the position of the Captains, royal officers, and garrison, and with the history of border warfare and upkeep of works, as being subsidiary to the military side ; and with the Staple, Municipality, Church, and with Justice, as being dependent on the commercial needs of Calais. The military history comes first, for commerce was necessarily dependent on the existence of a garrison. But as a factor in Calais life, commerce was of vastly greater importance.

ROYAL OFFICERS

THE King's representative and supreme official of Calais was called successively Captain, Lieutenant, and Deputy. He was usually noted for birth or talents, and had wide powers, which were defined by Edward III. in an Act of July 12, 1349. Practically the business of the Captain was to keep the town in safety. Thus, all inhabitants and visitors to the town were to obey him absolutely by night or day in everything touching the safety of the place, and he had power to punish those who disobeyed him. Further, he could dismiss officials who were remiss in any respect, and send them to the Tower if necessary, with right of nominating their successors. These powers could be exercised by his second-in-command in his absence. The Captain evidently had absolute authority over all royal officers and soldiers,[1] with the right of making regulations for them, which, however, seems to have been exerted by few. In 1465 the Earl of Warwick,

[1] This was not always beneficial to the interests of Calais as a garrison town—*e.g.*, a letter from Sir Nicholas Wentworth to Sir Thomas Darcy. After remarking that "the King was never worse served than now," he goes on to say that the Captain (of the Castle) "fears for the Town on account of the number of strangers who come through the gates; wishes he could shut them when he pleased, according to the old ordinance; is told he has not the power, but must do as the Deputy commands; prevents all he can, but perhaps, if anything happened amiss, the Deputy would lay the blame on him" (British Museum, Add. MS. 24, 852, f. 2).

with the consent of Edward IV., drew up some regulations with the object of consolidating the authority of the Captain and his delegates.[1] It was laid down that the Lieutenant of the castle and of the town of Rysbank, the Marshal, and all other officers, owed obedience to the representative of the King, and were bound to assist him in all that touched the government and defence of the place. In return, the Captain was to treat them "in gentyl, amyable, and friendly maner," giving to each the necessary advice and instructions. If one officer had a complaint against another, he must avoid a quarrel, and come to the Captain, who would adjust differences. All must assist on pain of dismissal in maintaining good order, and must give a good example of private conduct. Mention was then made of the scandalous immorality among the soldiers, and it was decreed that all soldiers having guilty relationship with married women must break it off immediately, while bachelors living in concubinage must marry their mistresses before the next festival of Assumption, or else cease to have dealings with them. Non-compliance was to be punished with the man's dismissal from employment, and the banishment of the woman. Thus even the morals of the garrison came within the sphere of the Governor's authority.

But the duties of the Captain are perhaps best understood by examining the agreements which were drawn up at the beginning and end of each Captain's term of office, defining the reciprocal obligations of Captain and Sovereign to one another. Thus, Robert de Herle, appointed Captain for one year in 1351, agrees to maintain ten knights, forty-nine squires, and sixty foot-archers, who are to be paid quarterly. No soldier is to be employed without his permission. He has power to dis-

[1] Record Office, French Rolls, 24, Membrane 14, 5 E. iv.

place the commandant of the castle and those of neighbouring places, while his jurisdiction extends to Marc, Oye, Sangate, and Colne. The King agrees to supply enough troops by land and sea for the proper defence of the town.[1] In 1356 the following conditions were drawn up on the appointment of John of Beauchamp for one year to the captaincy. He was to maintain 9 knights, 5 squires, and 42 horse-archers, and for his own and his men's wages he was to be paid £66 13s. 4d., payable in advance and by quarter. The town and castle belonging to it were to be furnished with a banneret, 29 knights, 348 squires, 162 mounted archers, 123 "hobelours," 195 foot-archers, 13 men for guard by day, more than 220 masons, carpenters, etc., 5 arbulaters, and 20 sailors, all receiving pay by quarter. The town must always have provisions for six months at least. If the town or one of the castles was besieged, and the Captain had not sufficient troops to repel them, the Sovereign must send adequate reinforcements within a month. If the King did not fulfil his engagements and pay the wages, John of Beauchamp was entitled to leave Calais, with his people, horses, and equipage. No soldier might cross to England without his leave.[2] In Beauchamp's case a similar agreement was drawn up at the end of the term of office. Again, in 1383, when William Beauchamp, Lord of Abergavenny, was made Governor of Calais for two years by Richard II., he agreed to supply a garrison of 800 men-at-arms, each accompanied by 5 to 6 cavaliers, 9 knights with their esquires, not less than 150 mounted archers, 100 men-at-arms, 83 foot-archers, and 4 mounted squires. The King agreed to pay four

[1] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., p. 19.

[2] Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. iii., part i., p. 324. London, 1825.

shillings daily for the wages of the Governor, two shillings for each knight, and one shilling to each of the 800 men-at-arms.[1] Apparently the Governor might use the troops in his pay for raiding without being under any obligation to share the booty with anyone—a lucrative privilege for William Beauchamp, who, having a turn for piracy, captured on one occasion eighty-eight French merchantmen, two laden with spices and the rest with white herrings. In the agreement of Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV., in 1454, it is stated that the third part of all booty should belong to him, as well as all prisoners taken by the troops under his orders, the King only reserving for himself the King of France or his sons and the Constable.[2] In Tudor times the Deputy was assigned about 220 acres in the Scunnage of Calais, which he held as livery lands. His pay averaged about £100 a year, besides an extra allowance of similar size for intelligence work in the enemy's country.

Various duties apart from those naturally associated with his office fell to the Captain's lot, some not altogether enviable. In 1353, for instance, Edward III. ordered Lord Cobham, temporary Governor of Calais, to settle a dispute between John of Spain, Constable of France, and a lady residing at Calais, who, having been accused by the said Constable of disloyalty to Edward, had challenged him to mortal combat.[3] The issue is unknown. Again, in 1357 the Commandants of Calais and St. Omer respectively were made responsible for truce-breakings. Each, in case of infringements of the truce by their respective side, had to give himself up

[1] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., p. 65.

[2] R. O. F. R., 120, M. 2, 32 H. VI.

[3] Lefebvre, vol. ii., p. 22.

as prisoner.[1] The Captain also had a joint jurisdiction with the Mayor over the soldiers having suits against civilians, and *vice versâ*.[2] Spying out the enemy's country was another duty of the Captain. Thus, in 1417 the Earl of Warwick was given a special allowance of £100 a year for " espial " in France and elsewhere,[3] and before Henry V.'s invasion of France a letter was sent by the Privy Council to Sir William Bardolf, Lieutenant of Calais, stating the King's intentions, and ordering him, in view of the general ignorance regarding the French movements and plans, to send spies into Picardy.[4] Lord Lisle received £100 a year from Henry VIII. for " spyall money,"[5] and Lord Berners a slightly larger amount.

The wages of the Captain are somewhat difficult to ascertain, as a lump sum was usually given for his own wages and those of the garrison. For instance, John of Beauchamp in 1356 received about £60, while the wages in 1500 amounted to about £5,635.[6] Richard, Duke of

[1] Lefebvre, " Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., p. 28.

[2] This occasionally led to quarrels. In 1535, for instance, Sir Robert Wingfield, the Mayor of Calais, who, curiously enough, had formerly been Deputy himself, quarrelled with Lord Lisle, the Deputy, as to the respective positions of Deputy and Mayor. The King supported Lisle, but a long and wearisome suit resulted.

[3] Proceedings of the Privy Council, February 18, 1417.

[4] *Ibid.*, January 27, 1418.

[5] For another instance of this curious mediæval example of secret service money, which seems to have been frequently granted by the early Lancastrian Kings, see " Excerpta Historica," p. 26 (Richard Bentley, 1833), in which occurs, among a list of the expenses of the garrison of Calais : " Also for the special reward of the Captain a 100 marks by the qārt for his espiall £104 14s. 8d. by the year, and for spāll reward of the said 3 knights and 26 men on horseback (part of the Captain's suite) every one 5 marks by the qārt."

[6] " Chronicle of Calais," p. 4. Camden Series, British Museum.

York's pay in 1454 was 6s. 8d. a day, with a supplementary payment of 100 marks a year. Probably his indirect emoluments was a more lucrative item than his actual wages. In 1455 Humphrey of Gloucester was given the captaincy, with the right of receiving all the King's revenue without rendering account, deduction being made from his wages and those of the garrison.[1] Indeed, Philip de Commines calls Calais "the richest treasure belonging to England, and the best captaincy in the world (or at least in Christendom); and this I know, for I was there several times . . . and was told by the chief officer of the Staple for cloth that he would willingly farm the government of the town from the King of England at 15,000 crowns per annum; for the Governor of Calais receives all profits on that side of the sea, and has the benefit of all convoys and the entire disposal and management of the garrison."[2] In the sixteenth century the post of Deputy, although it increased in importance, seems to have become less lucrative. At any rate, Lisle was always in debt, and Berners was notorious for his pecuniary troubles. The latter was forced, in 1511, to borrow £350 from the King, and when, during the years 1522 and 1523, Berners was prostrated with a severe illness, Henry directed the royal agents in Calais to look after his personal effects in the interests of his creditors. After his death all his goods were placed under arrest and an inventory made of them.

The term of the Captain's office varied considerably at different periods. Edward III. made a point of never retaining any one man very long in the post. Thus, John of Montgomery, the first Captain, appointed in October,

[1] R. O. F. R., 81, M. 15, 2 H. V.

[2] "Memoirs of Philip de Commines," vol. i., p. 185. Bohn Series.

1347, was replaced by John of Chiverston in December of the same year. Their successors were chosen for periods which were usually short and undetermined. There were no less than five different Captains between January, 1349, and January, 1356. Later on, as in the cases of John of Beauchamp and William Beauchamp, the Sovereign made the appointment for a fixed period, often for a year, and it is from this time that the custom of drawing up agreements commenced. Sometimes, as in the case of John of Beauchamp and Henry le Scrope, these agreements were renewed. Fifteen years was the longest period for which anyone was appointed, the record-holder being John Holland, Earl of Exeter, appointed in 1398.[1] After him came John, Earl of Somerset, appointed in 1401,[2] and Henry V., when Prince of Wales, appointed in 1410,[3] who were each given the office for twelve years. But the term was never actually fulfilled. Henry became King long before his period expired; while Richard, Earl of Warwick, who succeeded him in February, 1414, was replaced in November of the same year by William Lysle, being required to represent England at the Council of Constance.

As has been mentioned, the Captains, Lieutenants, or Deputies of Calais were nearly always distinguished men, and usually fulfilled their duties worthily. This is especially true after the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is sufficient to mention the names of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; Richard, Duke of York; Richard, Earl of Warwick, "the Kingmaker";[4] William Hastings of Hast-

[1] R. O. F. R., 66, M. 6, 21 R. II.
[2] *Ibid.*, 69, M. 9, 2 H. IV.
[3] *Ibid.*, 77, M. 13, 11 H. IV.
[4] For a French ballad on Warwick, *vide* "Chants Historiques et Populaires du Temps de Charles VII. et de Louis XI.," par le Roux de Lincey, p. 45. Paris, 1857.

ings; Daubeney; Berners; and Maltravers. The "Kingmaker," appointed in 1455,[1] made great use of Calais in his struggle with the Lancastrians, and was given the Governorship for life by the grateful Edward IV., with the title of "Captain of the town, Castle, and town of Rysbank."[2] William Hastings of Hastings, appointed in 1471 with title of "Guard-General, Superintendent, Governor, and Lieutenant of the King at Calais at the castle and town,"[3] was in 1479, as a reward for his capable rule, maintained in office for ten years longer. Hastings was so popular with the garrison that, when in 1471 Antony Woodville was appointed to the captaincy, the soldiers refused to have anybody but Hastings, and Edward IV. perforce confirmed their choice. Richard III. executed him, and after two quick changes appointed

[1] R. O. F. R., 121, M. 11, 33 H. VI.

[2] Warwick's career as a sort of despot of Calais is interesting as representing the possibilities open to a clever and unscrupulous man in possession of the town, with all the advantage of a disciplined force at his back and the command of the sea. In 1457 Warwick was appointed Governor of Calais, to supersede Richard, Duke of York, accused of treachery. Warwick promptly joined Richard in his rebellion, and sailed with his troops to Calais, on the pretext of taking up his government. On his way he fell in with some Lubeck and Genoese ships. These refused to lower their flags, whereupon he sunk some and brought back the rest to Calais. Complaint was made to Henry VI., who, well aware of Warwick's intrigues, deposed him, and sent out the Duke of Somerest to succeed him. But citizens and soldiers alike clamoured for Warwick. Somerset's ships were captured, and he himself retired to Guisnes, where he conducted a series of fruitless raids on Calais. Thereupon Henry deputed Lord Rivers and Sir Antony Woodville to lead an expedition against Calais. Determined to anticipate their attack, John Dunham, one of Warwick's officers, made a descent on Sandwich, captured the force and its commanders, and brought them back in triumph to Calais. Soon afterwards Lord Falconbridge, following his example, captured another royal fleet with troops, beheading Simon de Montfort, the Admiral, and twelve other officers at Calais.

[3] R. O. F. R., 146, M. 3, 18 E. IV.

his bastard son, John of Gloucester (1485), who was under twenty years of age, but apparently possessed ' ingenii vivacitas membrorumque agilitas."[1] Nevertheless, Richard III. kept the nomination of officers in his own hands during John's minority. George Daubeney, appointed Lieutenant of Calais by Henry VII. in 1486 for seven years,[2] is buried in Westminster Abbey, in a black marble tomb with alabaster figures of himself and his wife. Gilbert Talbot, who succeeded him, was the first to be called Deputy.

John Bourchier, Lord Berners, who became Deputy in 1520, is one of the most interesting literary figures of the sixteenth century. As a youth he had been brought much in contact with Henry VIII., who showed him considerable favour when he came to the throne. All his leisure at Calais was devoted to literary pursuits. History, real or fictitious, always interested him, and in 1523, at Henry's suggestion, he published the first volume of his famous translation of Froissart's "Chronicles," followed by a second volume in 1525. Berners' style is vivid and clear. He uses few French words, and is refreshingly English. The work is important as inaugurating that taste for historical reading and composition which characterized the later period of the sixteenth century. But chivalric romance had an even greater attraction for Berners. He translated from the French the romance of "Huon of Bordeaux," and from the Spanish the "Castell of Love." Another translation, "The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius, Emperour and eloquent oratour," from the French version of Guevara's "El Redox de Principes," is of great importance in English literature. Lyly's "Euphues" was mainly

[1] R. O. F. R., 152, M. 5, 1 R. III.
[2] *Ibid.*, 154, M. 11, 1 H. VII.

founded on Sir Thomas North's "Dial of Princes," a translation of an enlarged edition of Guevara's "El Redox," of which Berners was, as we have seen, the first translator. Berners, therefore, may in a sense be said to be the founder of Euphuism in England.[1] Besides a translation from the French of the history of the "most noble and valyaunt knight, Artheur of Lytell Brytaine," to Berners is attributed a Latin comedy, "Ite ad Vineam," which, it is said, was frequently acted after vespers at Calais.[2]

Though a martyr to gout, Berners did not confine himself to literary pursuits. His letters to Wolsey show that he was busily engaged in strengthening the fortifications of Calais and in watching the neighbouring armies of France and the Low Countries. Faithful guardian of Calais in his lifetime, he remained faithful to her in death, for he was buried in the choir of Notre Dame, the parish church of Calais. He left behind him a library of eighty volumes and many debts.

Lord Maltravers seems to have been one of the ablest Governors that Calais ever possessed. He was appointed at the age of twenty-nine, at Henry VIII.'s own choice, to succeed Lord Lisle. "A matter much to be noted weaghing the State howe that town then stoode, partly in sects, and otherwise hardly governed to the King's good likinge by the Governor theare, beinge the Lord Lisle, who at that tyme was newly withdrawn thence in hevye displeasure." Maltravers had a difficult task, and set about it so ably that the King increased his salary. He dismissed decrepit and incompetent soldiers, super-

[1] Landmann's "Euphuismus." Giessen, 1881.

[2] Berners also wrote a pamphlet on "The Duties of the Inhabitants of Calais," which is very possibly preserved to us in the elaborate ordinance regarding watch and ward at Calais contained in Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina, E. VII., 89-102 *b*.

intended drill, and forbade useless ceremony. He gave the soldiers banquets to encourage them to drill, and "was glad when they amonge themselves would (unlooked for) brake downe his garden walls, thearby to enter and set up and use the tilt and fighte at the turney, as a thinge which they thought best contented him." Truly a type of General which has followed the great auk into oblivion! Lord Wentworth's gallant defence of a lost cause was no unworthy termination to the successful rule of so long a series of Governors.

There were, of course, exceptions. All Governors of Calais were not angels and patriots. Some were dishonest, some were actually traitors. Raiding was a temptation which it was hard to withstand. We have seen that William Beauchamp, Lord of Abergavenny, made great profit out of piracy, and in 1399 Montague, then Captain of Calais, raided French territory, and was recalled by Richard II. in consequence.[1] Religion under the Tudors provided fresh possibilities for disgrace. In 1539 John Arthur Plantagenet was disgraced for his attachment to the Catholic religion, and there is, of course, the more famous case of Lord Lisle, who was apparently, in the light of the Commission appointed in March, 1540, to inquire into the state of Calais, guilty not only of tacitly favouring Popish doctrines—he was proved to have given Damplip, the Papal agent, the sum of five shillings, and to have communicated with Cardinal Pole and the Pope—but also of mismanagement in the administration of Calais, which was proved to be carelessly kept, 200 of the garrison consisting of boys, and strangers being admitted free access to the town, and allowed to walk on the walls and examine the fortifications. As a

[1] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., p. 91.

result of the Commission, Lisle was recalled, and at once confined in the Tower, while his wife was imprisoned at Calais in the charge of Francis Hall, "a sad man."

That the Captains of Calais sometimes lacked discretion is shown by a curious incident which occurred in 1554 between Lord Howard, Governor of Calais, and de Montmorency, Constable of France. The Constable made by letter a general offer of the aid of French troops to prevent Charles V. from setting foot in England, an event which France really feared, as it might result in Mary Tudor being barred from the throne. Howard rudely answered that England had no need of help, that Mary was safely on the throne, and that he suspected the Constable's intentions. The French Ambassador complained to the English Court of this insult to a friendly Power. Courtiers were heard to whisper that "my Lord Howard was a fool," and the English Government publicly excused him on the ground that he was "more a man of war than of sense."

In Henry VII.'s reign Giles, Lord Daubeney, was fined £200 in the Star Chamber "for his pardon for receipts of money at Calais."[1] The Wars of the Roses are, perhaps, hardly a fair test of political stability; but the story of tergiversation which Commines tells regarding Lord Wenlock, whom Warwick had left in charge of Calais, is not pleasant reading. Warwick, whose adherent Wenlock was, being driven out of England by Edward IV., appeared before Calais and demanded refuge. Wenlock, however, fired his big guns at him, and refused to assist him, being with difficulty induced to send aboard two flagons of wine to the Duchess of Clarence, who was with child, "which," justly remarks Commines, "was great severity for a servant to use

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xxv., p. 392.

towards his master."[1] Edward IV. was so pleased that he made Wenlock Governor instead of Warwick, and the Duke of Burgundy, through Commines, did everything in his power to secure his fidelity to Edward IV., promising him a pension of 1,000 crowns. All this time Wenlock was secretly advising Warwick to go away, while promising to hand over Calais to him at the first opportunity, which Commines brands as an example of shameless perfidy. Indeed, when Warwick regained power, and sent over 400 men to Calais to overrun the territory round Boulogne, Wenlock received them amicably, being really in favour of Warwick all the time.[2] Apparently Henry V., when Prince of Wales and Captain of Calais, was accused of defrauding the garrison of their pay, but was proved guiltless; for it is recorded in the minutes of the Privy Council of July to September, 1412, that "Because my lord the Prince, Captain of the town of Calais, is slandered in the said town and elsewhere, that he should have received large sums of money for the payment of his soldiers, and that these sums have not been distributed among them, the contrary of which is proved by two rolls of paper being in the Council, and sent by my said lord the Prince, it is ordered that letters be issued under the Privy Seal explanatory of the fact respecting the Prince in that matter."[3]

In 1387 occurred an instance of the independent spirit engendered by the fact that the Channel intervened between Calais and England. Richard II. had ordered William Beauchamp to give up his command. Beauchamp refused, saying that it was given in presence of the nobility of England, and must be required back by

[1] "Memoirs of Philip de Commines," vol. i., p. 415. Bohn Series.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[3] Minutes of the Privy Council, July to September, 1412.

them. John de la Pole was sent out with renewed orders to Beauchamp to vacate his appointment. Pole's errand proved fruitless: Beauchamp was arrested, and, although soon released, never received back his government.[1]

Sir Richard Wingfield, who vacated the deputyship in 1519, was guilty of independence of a worthier sort. On several occasions he refused to obey his Sovereign's orders until certain obnoxious regulations as to Calais contained in them were withdrawn, with the result that he left Calais amid the "weeping eyes" of the inhabitants, and "most honourably spoken of by all there."

The Captain was assisted and advised in his duties by the Council of Calais, a body whose function it is difficult to ascertain with certainty, but who probably acted as a sort of permanent Council of War. The date of its creation is unknown, and the earliest mention of its existence is in the year 1465.[2] Its composition is shown in a list of the Council which occurs in the muster-roll of the garrison of Calais in 1533,[3] and again by an Act of Henry VIII. in 1535 regulating precedence at its meetings.[4] In the later document the precedence is fixed as follows: First the Deputy, then in succession the Lieutenant of Guisnes, the High Marshal, the Lieutenant of the Castle of Calais, the Treasurer, the Lieutenant of Rysbank, the Lieutenant of Havre, the Controller, the High Porter, the Lieutenant of the Bridge of Nieulay, and the Under-Marshal. All officers were to abide by this precedence to avoid friction. The list of the Council given in 1533

[1] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., pp. 67, 68.

[2] George Daumet, "Calais sous la Domination Anglaise," p. 102.

[3] MS. Cotton, Faustina, folio 74, given in Appendix of Chronicle of Calais."

[4] Harleian Manuscripts. 353, folio 186, British Museum.

only differs in a few insignificant details. The High Porter is called the Knight Porter, the Under-Marshal the Vice-Marshal, while apparently the Lord Chamberlain also held the post of Lieutenant of Guisnes. Apparently other persons were sometimes called in to assist at the deliberations of the Council, for there exists a letter from Lord Hastings to Sir John of Middleton and Sir John Paston, thanking them for "the gode attendance that ye give unto the King's Counsail at Calais; and the gode and effectuelle devoires that ye putte you in to assist my Depute Sir John Scot in alle suche thinge as concerne the saufgarde of my charge there."[1]

Next to the Captain, the Treasurer was perhaps the most important member of the Council. His control of the purse necessitated the bestowal of the post upon a trusty servant of the Crown, while at the same time it insured the respect of the garrison and paid officials, as well as of the merchants and burgesses who paid their taxes to him. The Treasurer is found on at least one occasion acting as the delegate of the garrison to apply for their arrears of wages. It is difficult to give a detailed account of the functions of the Treasurer, which practically amounted to the general supervision of the interests of the royal finances at Calais. He had also certain powers in regard to the letting of lands, and possessed jointly with the Captain the right of granting "void places" to suitable persons. It is evident that the post was considered an honourable one, and was in many cases a ladder to higher things. In Henry VIII.'s reign Sir Edward Worton, a Treasurer of Calais, was nominated administrator of the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI., and could have been Chancellor

[1] September 16, 1473. "Paston Letters," J. Gairdner's edition, 1900, vol. iii., p. 97.

of England had not he been too modest to accept the post. Sir Richard Nanfant, another Treasurer,[1] was an early patron of Wolsey. In 1500 the wages of the Treasurer, including those of his retinue, amounted to £1,912. Of the army of minor officials—Water Bailiffs, Wardens, Customers—little need be said. Their functions are often vague and varied in significance at different periods, although doubtless all had their place in the machinery of colonial bureaucracy.

[1] Nanfant is usually spoken of as Treasurer of Calais, but there is evidence which seems to prove that he was actually Deputy. *Vide* "Letters . . . of Richard III. and Henry VII.," Rolls Series, i., p. 231.

THE GARRISON AND DEFENCES OF CALAIS

THE numbers of the garrison of Calais varied considerably in peace and war. The town, being of small extent, could be defended by a comparatively small force, and reinforcements could easily be brought across the Channel when required. Agreements were drawn up between the Sovereign and each Captain previous to the entry of the latter upon his term of office, stating the number of men to be provided by the Captain for the defence of the town; but it is not always clear whether the numbers include the garrisons of the outlying forts, or whether we are dealing with a peace or a war establishment. If the agreements may be taken as a rough guide, the garrison of Calais in 1351 consisted of about 119 officers and men; in 1356, of about 950, exclusive of 220 masons and carpenters; and in 1383, of 1,037, not including the five or six attendants who were to accompany each of the 800 men-at-arms. There is extant a muster-roll of the garrison of Calais and its outlying forts, compiled at the beginning of Henry V.'s reign, which put the number of troops at 773, of which 387 were assigned to the town and the castle of Calais itself.[1] The Italian traveller Antonio de Beatis mentions that in 1518 there were 500 men-at-arms in Calais.[2] The well-known

[1] "Excerpta Historica," 1833, pp. 25-28.

[2] "Cinquecenti huomini d'arme ad piedi, tra quali sono molti cavalli et tucti operano archi et accis" ("Travels of Cardinal Luigi of Aragon, 1518," pp. 122, 123).

muster-roll of 1533[1] puts the number at 537, including the retinues of the great officers ; while Giovane Michele, in a report to the Venetian Government, states that the garrison consisted of 50 horsemen and 500 infantry.[2] In Tudor times the nucleus of the force was formed by a regiment called La Vinteyne, consisting of 200 men, divided into ten companies, each commanded by a Vintener. They were divided into constabulary, banner-watch, porters, sergeants, day-watch, scourers, archers, and spears. Richard Turpyn, the writer of the famous Diary, was one of the constabulary, and there were many men of good family serving in the ranks, judging from the appearance in the list of such names as Willoughby and Howard.[3]

Charles II. had a Memorandum compiled to show the total cost incurred by England in the upkeep of Calais. The sum, which can have been but a rough calculation, worked out to £337,400, evidently far below the mark, to judge from existing accounts. In Richard II.'s reign, for instance, the annual charge is said to have been £2,400. In 1415 it was estimated that the cost of Calais for two years was £35,253 5s. 9d. in time of peace, and £41,951 17s. 4d. in time of war.[4] £10,022 is given as the expenditure for one year at the beginning of Henry V.'s

[1] Camden Series, "Chronicle of Calais," ed. J. G. Nichols, pp. 136-139.

[2] The difficulty of correctly ascertaining the number of the garrison at any given period may be illustrated by the fact that the muster-roll of 1,500 works out to a total of 303 ("Chronicle of Calais," pp. 4, 5), while a Venetian authority of the same year states that "there are always about 800 chosen men, including horse and foot, on guard at Calais, as Your Magnificence has seen" ("A Relation of the Island of England about the Year 1500," translated from the Italian, with notes, by Charlotte Augusta Sneyd, p. 45).

[3] The spears especially contained notabilities, for they are the only troops in the garrison who are mentioned individually by name.

[4] P. of P. C. Minutes, July 30, 1410.

reign. The Captain received 6s. 8d. a day, with extra money for "espial"; his knights were given 2s. a day, a sum which also represented the wages of the Captain of the Castle of Calais. Mounted men-at-arms received 1s. a day, mounted archers 8d., and unmounted archers 6d. In 1416 the assignments made out of the revenue of the kingdom for Calais amounted roughly to £14,000 for Calais itself, and £800 for the principal outlying forts.[1] The wages of the garrison in 1500 amounted to £9,920 13s. 4d.,[2] while in 1533 the sum works out at £8,117 11s. 9d., exclusive of £674 16s. 3¾d. spent upon the victualling of the town.[3] It may be roughly estimated that in time of peace the garrison comprised between 500 and 800 troops, and that the upkeep of Calais cost the country on an average about £8,000 a year. The war establishment varied to any extent.

The payment of the garrison was a bugbear to every English Sovereign. Mutinies were frequent, and the soldiers often resorted to illegal means in order to obtain the money due to them. In 1407 the troops, not having been paid, mutinied and seized the stock of wool belonging to the merchants of the Staple, who hastened to advance the necessary sum, and on April 29 Henry IV. expressed his gratitude to the company, and granted them a respite from taxes payable on all wool and skins exported between the previous Pentecost and the next Festival of St. Michael.[4] In 1423, owing to the soldiers having seized the wool, the Mayor and Staple had to be paid £4,000 out of the subsidies to recoup them for having paid the troops. In 1433 there was another mutiny.[5] In 1442 the merchants of the Staple had to

[1] P. of P. C., June 24, 1416.
[2] "Chronicle of Calais," pp. 4, 5, 139.
[3] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. iii., p. 346.
[4] R. O. F. R., 19, M. 9, 5 E. III.
[5] P. of P. C., April 27, 1423.

request that, for the safety of the wool, the soldiers might be paid,[1] and in the following year there was still symptoms of discontent; while in 1447 Henry VI. had to adjust a quarrel between William Pyrton, Lieutenant of the Castle of Guisnes, and his men. In this last case, Pyrton not only had nothing with which to pay his soldiers their present wages, but was already out of pocket himself from paying them arrears, and had to be compensated with half an acre of land belonging to the Abbey of Ardres. The troops did not invariably use force to obtain their rights, for in 1422 they sent over the Treasurer to England as their representative to plead for the payment of their wages.[2] Whether legal or illegal means were adopted to enforce their just demands, this constant inability on the part of the Government to pay them was bound to react both on the loyalty and the efficiency of the garrison. In 1462 John Russe, in a letter to Sir John Paston, writes: "It was told me secretly there were two hundred in Caleyse sworn contrary to the Kyngs will and for default of their wages."[3] The danger was fully realized by the authorities at Calais. In 1547 the Deputy begged Wolsey to see that the garrison were paid, and again in 1555 Lord Wentworth, in the name of the Council, wrote to Mary to let her know the miserable state of the soldiers and workmen of the town, who "have not ever been so miserable," and entreated her to pay them.[4]

In their efforts to obtain money for the payment of the garrison every possible expedient was adopted by successive Sovereigns. In 1423, during the minority of Henry VI., it was arranged that £5,000 should be put

[1] P. of P. C., October 12, 1442. [2] *Ibid.*, February 24, 1417.
[3] "Paston Letters, 1462," Gairdner's edition, 1900, vol. ii., p. 118.
[4] "Calendar of State Papers: Mary," p. 194.

aside from the Customs on wool for the payment of the garrison, and the Government allowed even greater sums in proportion as the revenue increased. In 1430 there is mention of a repayment of 2,000 marks to Master Leonard, a retainer of the Pope, from whom the Calais officials had been compelled to borrow for war expenses.[1] In 1433, the King having obtained from Parliament the right to 13s. 4d. on each sack of wool and each packet of 240 skins exported from England, by natives as well as by foreigners, it was agreed that the Treasurer of Calais should use 10s. for the wages of the soldiers, and 3s. 4d. for effecting repairs in the town.[2] This tax was increased in 1441 to 20s.,[3] but reduced to 13s. 4d. in 1445. In 1442 the King ordered John Sutton of Dudley, John Langton, Treasurer of Calais, and others to assemble the soldiers and workmen to see what was owing, and take measures for paying them.[4] When the Duke of Buckingham became Governor, in 1449, the coffers were empty, and Parliament had to be called in order to vote subsidies. Henry VI. had to beseech the garrison to be patient, and wait quietly for their arrears. Later on (January, 1452) he ordered a certain Gervais Clyston to sell at Calais 440 sacks of wool belonging to the King, and employ the proceeds in paying the soldiers and effecting needful repairs.

Sometimes merchandise had to be given instead of money. In 1444 wool and skins to the value of £4,100 6s. 8d. were given to the soldiers, with the right of selling them at a profit, and with right of preference over all other wares of the same description.[5] But the merchants of the Staple were furious, and Henry VI.

[1] P. of P. C., November 9, 1430.
[2] R. O. F. R., 102, M. 13, 14 H. VI.
[3] *Ibid.*, 6, M. 13, 20 E. III.
[4] *Ibid.*, 108, M. 16, 20 H. VI.
[5] *Ibid.*, 120, M. 7, 32 H. VI.

withdrew the concession.[1] The garrison, in their turn disappointed and wrathful, proceeded to mutiny, and being joined by other malcontents, captured three vessels from Zealand in the Thames, and brought them back in triumph to Calais. The King was obliged to indemnify the despoiled merchants.[2] There is no doubt that at this time the troops were in a deplorable state of poverty, and could not even have lived but for money generously advanced by the burghers.[3] At last the latter, weary of thankless and profitless patriotism, refused further credit, and Henry VI. was forced to repay the whole sum out of the sums owed by the burghers to the Treasury by reason of their lands and tenures.[4] Edward IV., equally embarrassed, ordered John Wenlock, Thomas Wagan, and William Rowdyfe in 1462 to investigate what wages were due to the garrison.[5] To pay them off, he put aside half his rights on the wool in the harbours of St. Botulf and Sandwich.[6] In December, 1472, he was obliged to raise £900 for three years on the sum of £10,022 4s. 8d., which was the total sum due to the Captain and his troops in order to pay the Company of the Staple, who had advanced the necessary funds for buying back the Crown jewels from the usurers.[7] This brief outline of the financial difficulties of successive Kings shows that, amongst other devices employed, were raising money on the Customs, selling Crown property, sometimes even the Crown jewels, actual borrowing of money, relying on the charity of the burgesses, and waiving rights to certain

[1] R. O. F. R., 121, M. 5, 33 H. VI.
[2] *Ibid.*, 124, M. 1, 36 H. VI.
[3] In Tudor times about 148 acres of the common land of Calais was set apart for the soldiers of the garrison, which must have considerably improved their position.
[4] R. O. F. R., 127, M. 1, 39 H. VI.
[5] *Ibid.*, 130, M. 7, 2 E. IV.
[6] *Ibid.*, 130, M. 2, 2 E. IV.
[7] *Ibid.*, 140, M. 4, 12 E. IV.

duties, all of which are illustrations of the disadvantages connected with a mediæval Gibraltar.

Although Henry V. made arrangements for watches by day and night, our knowledge of the regulations made for the defence of Calais is chiefly limited to those drawn up by Henry VIII. about the year 1535.[1] These were very complete and detailed. Particular attention was paid to patrols and the guarding of gates. The Lantern Gate alone was to be kept open every day, while in herring time it was the only gate which was opened at all. The three other gates were only opened on fixed days in the week, and never during herring time. The keys of the gates were kept by the Deputy, while their opening and shutting were attended with a quaint ceremony which in many ways resembled the modern procedure at the Tower of London. Martial music accompanied a series of parade-ground evolutions, and the men on guard attended a Mass said specially for them at the Convent of the Carmelites. Every day the gates were closed during dinner-time—that is, about one hour before noon—and the keys given to the Deputy, and hidden by him. As soon as the meal was ended the gates were opened, with the same military ceremony as in the morning. At 4 p.m. the gates were again closed for the night, the keys being handed over to the Deputy, who, on returning them to the night-porter on the following morning, specified how many gates he wished to be opened. The signal for this was the tolling of the bell of the first watch thrice, whereupon the guard turned out in the market-place and beat réveillé with fifes and drums. The men on guard were divided by night into three groups, the "Scout-watch," responsible for the

[1] "Chronicle of Calais," pp. 140 *et seq.* British Museum, Camden Series.

exterior of the ramparts; the "Stande-watch at the waulle"; and the "Serche-watch," who saw that the other two did their work properly. All three frequently sent out patrols, who recognized each other by means of a password.

Herring time was always a cause of anxiety to the authorities of Calais, since it implied a great influx of foreigners. In 1441 the Lieutenant of Calais had even been ordered to revoke the permission which he had granted to the inhabitants of Dieppe to fish for herrings at Calais, under cover of which "great multitudes had entered the town."[1] It has been mentioned that at this season only one gate was kept open. Besides this an additional watch was maintained. This "Banner-watch," composed of knights, mounted archers, and infantry, varied in number according to the quality of its commander, the post being held in turn by the Controller, Deputy, High Marshal, Treasurer, Master Porter, and Under-Marshal. A start was made from the market-place, whence the watch, carrying the banner and preceded by fifes and drums, issued forth to fulfil its duties of superintending the other watches. At Christmas-time the principal officers took turns to conduct a patrol of four men through the streets. On such occasions, owing to the influx of foreigners, two Aldermen had to pass the night in the Town Hall, situated above the market, and send out four soldiers every hour to patrol the square and see that all regulations were properly observed.

An unpleasant punishment awaited any member of the Stand-watch who was found asleep thrice in a night. He was seized by the nose and thrust into a basket suspended outside the ramparts 10 or 12 feet

[1] P. of P. C., October 14, 1441.

above the moat full of water. A loaf, a flask of water, and a knife were given him. When the culprit's provisions were exhausted, his only course was to cut the rope and take a bath in the moat. It was the duty of the guardians of the moat to rescue and bring him ashore in their boat, and then conduct him to prison. The penalty of death was awarded to soldiers who quarrelled during their term of service.

Even the burgesses of Calais had military obligations which seem to have weighed heavily upon them. The custom of billeting troops on the inhabitants, although probably unavoidable, was none the less burdensome, and both Richard II. and Henry IV. allowed considerable compensation to owners of houses in which troops were billeted. Moreover, the burgesses had to do their share of actual soldiering. Twenty-three had to do duty at the castle every night. They were assembled by the Marshal, whose valet was entrusted with the duty of assembling them. By an ordinance of May, 1365, even municipal magistrates were not exempt. At one time the Company of the Staple apparently furnished a contingent for the defence, for in 1376 the inhabitants of Calais begged that the Staple might again be fixed at Calais, on the ground that when the Captain was away on a campaign, the Company of Merchants furnished 100 billmen and 200 archers recruited among the merchants and their servants, who received no pay from the King, and helped to guard the city.[1]

The technical justification for the enrolment of burghers for service was that they held fiefs of the Crown. The Kings acquired a bad habit of exempting their friends and servants from duty, and thus increasing the burden of the remainder, and in April, 1376, Parliament granted

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii., p. 358.

a request of the inhabitants of Calais to Edward III. that exemptions of this sort should not be allowed.[1] The burghers themselves were continually endeavouring to obtain immunity from service. In 1413 Henry V. ordered those who neglected their duties to be forced to fulfil them, and in 1495 Parliament decided that those who had received houses from the King at Calais would be deprived of them if, for a year and a day, they neglected the service due from them.[2] Henry VI. and Henry VIII. both had inquiries instituted as to whether the guards were being properly kept.

The town of Calais was roughly a rectangle, 1,200 yards long and 400 in breadth. Its walled defences differed little from those of other mediæval towns, save in their strength. The surrounding walls were on the north-east, on the one side studded at intervals with towers, while at important points bastions broke their continuity. Naturally the south side of the town was most strongly fortified. The moat was double on this side, and strong works, consisting of a large tower and two smaller ones, defended the gate. The moat surrounding the whole system of fortifications was in some places nearly 60 yards in breadth. The castle, which stood on the north-west side of the town, was separated from it by a large ditch communicating with those which encircled the other fortifications.[3] In the midst of the

[1] "Rolls of Parliament," vol. ii., p. 358.

[2] "Statutes of the Realm," vol. ii., part ii., p. 42.

[3] Antonio de Beatis says that Calais "Quale si non è terra molta bella è pur fortissima." He lays special stress on the fact that the country round could be flooded by means of subterranean canals, which allowed the sea to flow in. "Quello che la fa inexpregnabile è che del mare entrano in la terra tre o quatri canali subteranei in modo di chaviche, che si serrano con porte, quali sempre che se vogliano apprire intrara tanta acqua che in mezza hora annecaranno Quatro miglia

town stood the watch-tower, together with another tower of three stages, provided with cannon, commanding equally the square, harbour, and open country. The defence seems to have been apportioned between the King's Deputy, the High Marshal, the Comptroller, the Treasurer, and the Master Porter.

The castle itself was very strong, save that it had no earthworks, except round the donjon. It served as a prison, palace, or fortress, as required. It was in the form of a square, defended by a tower at each of its angles. In the midst stood the donjon, surrounded with curtains and defended by several covered turrets; in the centre of the moat, separating the castle from the dunes towards Sangate, was another large tower, commanding equally the entry to the ditch and the approaches to the open country. Until 1361 the defence of the castle appears to have devolved upon the Captain of Calais, but in June 13 of this year a special officer, called Custos," was charged with the command of the castle.[1] Thomas of Kyngestone first held the post, which was subordinate to that of the Captain. But the two functions were not always distinct, for in 1376 Thomas Fogg temporarily united the two. The custody of the castle was often given for a term of years. Philip La Vache, for instance, obtained it in 1392 for eight years,[2] and in 1396 Thomas, Earl of Nottingham, received it for life.[3] The Lieutenant of the Castle of Calais held 45 acres of ground in the common land of Calais as livery lands.

The castle naturally formed a magazine for arms, and

italiani intorno di campagna" ("Travels of Cardinal Luigi of Aragon, 1518," by Antonio de Beatis, pp. 122, 123. Freiburg in Breisgau, 1905).

[1] R. O. F. R., 29, M. 5, 36 E. III.

[2] *Ibid.*, 60, M. 3, 15 R. II. [3] *Ibid.*, 64, M. 13, 19 R. II.

in the sixteenth century mention is made of the fact that there was stored in the artillery chamber "feighting bills of brymingen making," an early foreshadowing of Birmingham's future fame.[1]

Practically forming part of the immediate defence of Calais stood Rysbank, a great tower lying at the entrance to the harbour, on an island, surrounded by turrets, and protected towards the sea by a strong bastion. Originally Rysbank was placed under the direct orders of the Captain, but later on it was entrusted to special officers, as, for instance, in 1399 to Thomas Totty.[2]

Outside the regular fortifications of Calais was a series of small forts, some on the frontier of the Pale, some within it. The latter were usually small works placed at or near bridges on roads leading to Hammer River, and were only manned with infantry. Such were Froton Bulwark and Nele Bulwark, through which the Duke of Guises' forces poured into the Pale on January 2, 1558. Probably they only dated from Lord Cobham's period of office in Edward VI.'s reign. Ballanger's Bulwark, also called Jones's Bulwark after its Captain in 1545, was a large work containing in 1547 an armament of one saker, two fawcons, two slings, five fowlers, five bases, "all of iron," nineteen hagbushes, and ten handguns, was an important position near Cowbridge. Boots' Bulwark was nearly as well armed. Newenham Bridge, or Niculay, under which the waters from the upper districts of Calais ran into the sea in the form of a canal, was a *tête du pont* for Calais, and had its own commander and garrison. It was commanded by a square fort entirely surrounded by water, with a tower at each angle, and

[1] R. Calton, "Annals and Legends of Calais," p. 32.
[2] R. O. F. R., 62, M. 11, 17 R. II.

two towers in the middle forming the donjon. Marshes and watercourses encircled it in every direction. In 1547 it possessed fifty-five pieces of artillery, mostly of light calibre. Its approaches were defended by the fortresses of Sangate. Of the other forts, those of Guisnes, Hammes, and Marc were by far the most important. They defended the feeding-grounds of Calais. "This district," says du Bellis, "marshy and with very fertile pasturages, forms a district of four leagues in length and three in width. It extends on the coast side between Calais and Gravelines, and on the Picardy side from the town of Guisnes to that of Ardres, and a little farther on is the castle of Terouanne. The entrance to this country is defended by wide and deep trenches full of water, by drawbridges guarded by forts, and by redoubts usually manned by troops. The English keep up also in war-time a great fort called Marc, which is situated in the midst of the district, and as soon as the alarm has been given to some fort, the inhabitants used to take their arms and run to where the noise had been heard."

Guisnes was the most famous of the three, and bore the brunt of every French attack. The town was nearly square, surrounded by a very wide ditch and earthen ramparts. In the midst was the castle, separated by a moat similar to that surrounding the town, with which it was connected. It was pentagonal, with five great round bastions, and with curtains raised and terraced, and in its centre stood the town called La Cuve, also separately fortified. The total armament of the place was fifty-six pieces. The command of Guisnes was nearly always given to a personage of note. In May, 1423, for instance, the Duke of Gloucester took over the command. There is extant an article of agreement, dated 1513, between Nicolas Vaux and the King, concerning

the custody of the town and castle. In time of peace the garrison was to consist of sixty men, the King providing twenty, Nicolas forty. In time of war Nicolas must provide the necessary reinforcements. The Captain must serve in England with his men if required by the King, and in that case must leave the castle in safe hands.

The castle of Hammes was situated in inaccessible marshes; it was square and fortified by four strong towers. A very large ditch surrounded it, the only approach to which was by a narrow causeway with wooden bridges at intervals, which could easily be destroyed at need. The armament in 1547 was eighty-four pieces.

The strongly fortified town of Marc was regarded with peculiar favour by the Kings of England, perhaps owing to its ready submission to Edward III. That King conferred special privileges on its inhabitants in 1361, which were renewed by Henry V. in 1413. Not far distant from Marc was Oye, a fort flanked by two bastions, supported by a curtain facing Calais. The whole was surrounded by a double ditch, divided by an earthwork holding 100 men. There was only one narrow entrance, which had to be passed by troops in single file.[1]

The upkeep of fortifications so numerous, so various, and so widely extended was a matter requiring constant attention and supervision. Moreover, the dikes and sluices, which rendered possible the very existence of large portions of the Calais district, were also an extremely important item in the arrangements for defence, and these two absorbed large sums of money, and needed assiduous care. To give them their due, the Kings of England were thoroughly alive to their duties. It

[1] Dillon, "Calais and the Pale," *Archæologia*, vol. liii., *passim.*

there were often occasions—and the impeachment is true enough—when grave defects remained unremedied and vulnerable points presented a temptingly defenceless opening to the enemy, it was usually money, not inclination, which was lacking; and it may be mentioned in this respect that Henry VI., feeblest and most distracted of all our English Kings, never for one moment lost sight of Calais through all the changing phases of his troublous reign.

Edward III., as might be expected, never erred in this respect. In December, 1347, John and Alexander Lestrange were commissioned to collect materials from Kent for repairs at Calais which seemed indispensable, and the works were carried out by men from England enrolled by royal officers. When workmen were needed, the King used to order a certain number of sheriffs to choose out of their counties as many men of different crafts as were necessary, and despatch them to Calais.[1] Inspectors were sent out from time to time to report what works were necessary. Thus, in 1352 Sir Walter Manny was ordered to render account of the state of the fortification of the town and neighbouring places.[2] All workmen and work requisitioned by the inspector were superintended by a supervisor appointed by the King. Thus, Robert de Elbrigg was appointed supervisor in 1353,[3] and in 1368 Henry le Scrope and three others were sent to report on what they judged necessary for the defence of Calais.[4] Inspectors were appointed in 1365 and 1373, and in 1376 Henry de Percy, Marshal of England, was appointed inspector, and ordered to prepare a report for the Council on the actual state of

[1] R. O. F. R., 11, M. 6, 20 E. III.
[2] *Ibid.*, 14, M. 12, 26 E. III.
[3] *Ibid.*, 15, M. 6, 27 E. III.
[4] *Ibid.*, 36, M. 25, 43 E. III.

affairs at Calais, and the improvement that he deemed desirable. In 1381 John d'Evreux, the Captain, was charged with this duty, as was his successor, William of Beauchamp, with whom in 1386 was associated Michael de la Pole, the Chancellor. In 1454 Henry de Bourchier was deputed to see what repairs were required ;[1] in 1482 William Hastings was ordered to give his opinion on the repairs necessary for the moats, causeways, and bridges in the Calais district,[2] and Henry VII. gave the same commission to Giles Daubeney.[3]

Before leaving France in 1354, Edward ordered new fortifications for the castle and town to be constructed, the principal gate to be rebuilt, and Sangate to be fortified. He also provided that springals should be sent to Calais.[4] In the following year these and many other important works were carried out, and in order to obtain ships to transport the stone and timber which were required, the King ordered all vessels then in the ports of his kingdom to be detained and employed in this service.[5] Operations were still progressing in 1360, for in that year Sir Walter Manny, Guy de Bayeux, and Roger de Beauchamp were sent to discover what wages were due to the workmen. The year 1358 had been chiefly occupied in the strengthening of Hammes, but beyond this fact the exact nature of the works is unknown. In 1370 John Long was commissioned to choose carpenters and locksmiths in sufficient number to restore the towers and ramparts ; he was also to buy and arrange for the transport of materials.[6]

[1] R. O. F. R., 120, M. 7, 32 H. VI.
[2] *Ibid.*, 145, M. 6, 17 E. IV.
[3] *Ibid.*, 150, M. 14 and 15, 22 E. IV.
[4] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., p. 26 ; also R. O. F. R., M. 1.
[5] R. O. F. R., 17, M. 2, 29 E. III.
[6] *Ibid.*, 36, M. 26, 43 E. III.

Richard II. did not fail to perform his part in increasing the fortifications of Calais. He built a new tower of five stages, four of which supported cannon, the fifth being surmounted by a watch-tower.[1] Henry IV. was equally alive to the importance of Calais. He not only repaired the forts, but sent out his best troops to form the garrisons, and frequently changed the officers as a precautionary measure. The year 1405 marks an important addition to the strength of Calais. Thomas of Lancaster, the King's brother, was Lieutenant-General of the town, and showed great activity in his duties. Noticing that the entrance to the harbour was poorly defended, he constructed the tower of Rysbank to defend vessels moored in the "great Paradise." It would seem that under Henry VI. the fortifications of Calais were at first somewhat neglected. Although in 1440 materials for repairs were sent to Calais, and thirty workmen were despatched to build up breaches at Sangate and Newenham Bridge, Henry VI. was obliged in 1442 to order John Sutton of Dudley and others to cross to Calais and find out who was responsible for the dangerous defencelessness of the town. They were also to estimate the sums necessary for repairs and report to the Council.[2] In 1454 Richard, Duke of York, then Captain of Calais, was given twenty carpenters and fifteen masons, and in 1458 an officer called "Munitioner" was appointed to supervise the fortifications.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, and until well into the reign of Henry VIII., the defences of Calais were somewhat neglected, perhaps owing to the parsimony of Henry VII. In 1518 several members of the Council presented an earnest address to Wolsey on the subject

[1] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., p. 68.

[2] R. O. F. R., 108, M. 16, 20 H. VI.

of the state of Calais. It had good results, for in 1523, by an order in Council, £2,000 was advanced for the repair of the walls on the credit of the wools then at Calais. Still, Wolsey, writing to Henry VIII. from Calais on his arrival there (June 11, 1527), does not draw a pleasant picture of the condition of the town. After mentioning that he had a quick and calm passage across the Straits, he describes his cordial reception by the Calais officials, "with whom," he continues, "after dinner, having a long discourse of the state of your said towne, I found the same in no little disorder, and for lack of reparacions in marvellous decay, clearly unfurnished of timber, stone, boards, and every other thing required for the same, greatly unprovided of victual, and the poor soldiers far behind and unpaid of their wages, all which faults, errors, and lacks, I trust be remedied afore my return unto Your Highness out of these parts." Henry VIII. took the matter up warmly, and when he was on a visit to Calais in 1532, the scheme was drawn up which is contained in the "Device for the Fortification of Calais."[1] This interesting but lengthy document proves that the rapid advance in the science of artillery necessitated great modification in the fortresses of the period. The new work occupied 939 men, whose wages amounted to £231 10s. 8d.; yet in 1535 a Commission headed by Sir William Fitz-William gave an unsatisfactory report regarding the state of Calais, and in 1541 there is another list of workmen employed on the fortifications. In this case the cost of a month's work (at Rysbank, Calais, Guisnes, New Bulwark, Mill Town, and the quarries) amounted, including carriage of material, to £2,850 5s. 2d.

[1] "Chronicle of Calais," p. 197. Camden Series, British Museum.

In 1550 Edward VI. made some additions. He strengthened the curtain at Rysbank opposite the dunes, and made the terrace angular instead of circular, as well as broadening it by 20 feet on the side of the sea. He also constructed a raised terrace for the Mauburg Fort opposite Rysbank. Guisnes was also repaired, and had its fortifications to some extent altered. Finally, the " Parson " bastion was repaired.

All contemporary evidence shows that Calais was considered a fortress of the first class even at the period just previous to its capture. Giovane Michele, in his report to the Venetian Government, writes : " It is considered by everyone as an impregnable fortress on account of the inundations with which it may be surrounded, although there are persons skilled in the art of fortifications who doubt that it would prove so if put to the test. For the same reason, Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable."

Besides the expense and responsibility connected with the upkeep of the actual fortifications, the Sovereign had to be continually looking to the dikes, jetties, bridges, causeways, and other works connected with salt and fresh water which abounded in the Calais district. It might have been expected that these duties would have fallen to the civil rather than to the royal authorities, but the close connection between the agricultural or commercial with the defensive and military functions of these works afforded ample justification. The efforts of the Duke of Burgundy to inundate Calais are an illustration of the danger of their misuse by hostile hands, and as an instance of these possibilities in defence it may be mentioned that in 1477 William Hastings was given full powers to submerge with salt or fresh water all the districts which he judged necessary for the defence of

Calais.[1] Sir Robert Wingfield, who was in succession both Deputy and Mayor of Calais, got into trouble in this connection. In the year 1530 he acquired some 4,000 acres of marshland at a rent of £20 a year. When properly drained, this constituted a valuable property, though, unfortunately, at the cost of impairing the defences of Calais. Eventually he was forced, as the result of a Commission, to let in the sea again. Consequently, the Sovereign usually attended to these arrangements himself. Thus, in 1398 the jetties protecting the harbour were threatened with ruin owing to the violence of the sea, while the basin called " Paradis " was in a lamentable state. Parliament accordingly granted subsidies for their repair, and Richard II. drew up regulations to provide for the transport and expense of necessary material. All vessels coming from England, except fishing-boats, must, under penalty of a fine of 2s. per ton, take as ballast good serviceable stones, which were to be handed over to the Treasurer and used to stiffen the jetties. Moreover, every vessel entering the " Paradis " basin to anchor there must pay 1s. 4d. for every fourteen days or less. If it remained longer, the tax was to be increased accordingly for every extra day. No ship might be fastened by cable to the stairs and jetties of the quay. Any infringement of these regulations was liable to a fine of forty deniers.[2] Again, in 1486, owing to damage having been caused by the breaking of some dam, a Commission of eleven men was appointed to examine thoroughly the " walliæ, fonata, gutteræ, seweræ, pontes, calceta et gurgita aquarum," and arrange for the punishment of those guilty of carelessness.

[1] R. O. F. R., 145, M. 6, 17 E. IV.
[2] " Statutes of the Realm," vol. ii., p. 108.

When the Crown was in need of money, an effort seems to have been made to make the people of the district which benefited by the repairs provide the necessary funds, as in 1423, when a dike was put up at Oye at the expense of the inhabitants of Oye and Marc, who had chiefly suffered from inundations in that region.[1]

[1] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," p. 125.

MILITARY HISTORY

THERE is much in the military history of Calais during the English occupation which recalls the wild Border warfare which raged round Carlisle and the Northern Marches during the same period. To the historian it presents for the most part a disconnected and wearisome series of raids, counter-raids, and broken truces. To the novelist it might afford a fruitful theme, but even by the novelist it has been neglected.

It is needless to attempt a detailed survey of the constant fighting between French and English, which practically continued throughout the whole English occupation. It will suffice to illustrate a few characteristic phases of this incessant warfare, the secret of which may be found in the fact that the French never lost hope of recovering Calais, while the English ever sought to increase their territory, or at least to enrich themselves with French booty. On both sides there were raids by land and piracy by sea. Thus, in 1352 the French tried to retake Guisnes, succeeded in burning the suburbs, but were finally repulsed by the garrison of Calais and Hammes; while in the same year Aymery de Pavia, in command of an English force, attempting to surprise St. Omer, was overwhelmed, captured, and quartered by de Charney, Governor of that town. All this occurred during a nominal truce.[1]

[1] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., pp. 21, 22.

In the following year, while peace conferences still continued, the English depredations resulted in huge booty and the burning of more than 500 vessels in the French coast ports. The evasive tactics of Charles V. encouraged this guerilla warfare, and in 1373 an ambuscade at Licques, when the French were badly cut up, and the repulse of several direct attacks on Calais, proved his wisdom. Regular battles only took place when one side was besieging some important fortress ; then all the other garrisons would hurry to its assistance.

Thus, in June, 1351, Sir John Beauchamp made a sortie from Calais, and wasted the country as far as Boulogne and St. Omer. In the latter town was a large French garrison, under Edward, Lord of Beaujeu, Marshal of France, who pursued the invaders, but was at first repulsed. Beauchamp foolishly held his ground, instead of retiring on Calais, and the English, who had dismounted, mindful of the lesson of Crécy, but who lacked a sufficiency of archers, were charged by infantry in the rear and overwhelmed.[1] Similarly, in 1405 the Constable of St. Pol, who four years previously had ravaged the Calaisis and insulted England by carrying to Calais by night an effigy of the Duke of Rutland, the Constable, and hanging it on a gibbet outside the walls, laid siege to Marc. First attempts to repulse him failed, but eventually the garrison of Calais defeated him with great carnage. This was quite a respectable battle, for the English numbered 200 men-at-arms, 200 archers, and 300 light armed troops, with artillery.[2]

The sixteenth century abounds with instances of raids and guerilla warfare. In 1513 the French planned an

[1] Oman, "Art of War in the Middle Ages," p. 617.

[2] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., p. 104.

ambush at a causeway only one and a half miles from Calais, and did considerable damage. In 1540 they built a castle at Ardres, with a bridge leading into the Pale. The garrison of Calais beat it down, whereupon the French rebuilt it, only to be again razed to the ground. After this Henry VIII. sent 1,500 workmen to fortify Guisnes, and 500 troops to guard them. Cowbridge, the dividing-line between French and English territory, was also destroyed, divisions of dikers under knights being employed to render it impassable. The French remonstrated, and long negotiation ensued, but the English ultimately got their way. There is an interesting account of a typical foray from Calais in Tudor times which illustrates the usual procedure.[1] In 1543 a force was despatched under Sir John Wallop, "a nobull Captayne as ever was," to raid French territory in support of the Emperor, who was allied with Henry VIII. at this time. The troops left Calais on Sunday, July 22, at 4 p.m., and encamped that night outside the walls. Next day they marched out to Lanerton in the French Pale, where they were joined by Lord Grey, Captain of Hammes, and burnt Lanerton and other places, including an abbey. The following days were spent in razing and blowing up with gunpowder other abbeys and villages. By this time some Burgundians had joined the English force. After a skirmish with the French under the walls of Terouanne, the English Commander sent a challenge to the French Governor of the town suggesting that a combat should be arranged between six gentlemen on each side. The offer was accepted, and one man on each side was badly hurt, after which the march was continued. Here the manuscript breaks off, but it suffices to give an idea of the typical foray.

[1] Machyn's "Diary," p. 8. Camden Series, British Museum.

Spying, as we have seen, was an important part of the Captain's duties. In a letter from John Cheyney to Lord Sandes, Lieutenant of Guisnes, dated 1527, an account is given of the adventures of a spy who had been sent into Flanders. At Dunkirk he found writing on a church door, and hearing that it was so all over Flanders, started for home. At Gravelines he unwisely partook of a drink " for acquayntans " with a Spanish soldier of the garrison. The Captain of Gravelines, hearing of this, sent for both soldiers, and asked the Englishman what his business was. Giles replied that he had been on a pilgrimage to Our Lady, a mile out of Dunkirk. The Captain merely remarked that he deserved a hanging, and bade him be off.

The frequent raids were not always conducted with regard to humanity or to the susceptibilities of allies. In 1454, when the Count of Eu was repulsed from Guisnes, sixty or seventy French prisoners were massacred in cold blood ; while in 1471 the English raided the territory of Boulogne, then belonging to their ally the Duke of Burgundy, and Commines had to negotiate for the necessary compensation.[1] Guisnes was continually being attacked by the French. Its original seizure by the English is typical of the lax morals of border warfare. Conferences usually took place in the district between Calais and Guisnes. In 1349 the Captain of Calais, hearing that the French Governor of Guisnes was away in Paris, bribed the Count of Guisnes to give up the town to the English. The French protested, but Guisnes was kept. The memory of this always rankled. The attempt of the Count of Eu has been mentioned. In 1514 the Count d'Angoulême—the future Francis I.—besieged Guisnes with 8,000 men and artillery, and in 1544 the

[1] " Memoirs of de Commines," vol. i., p. 195. Bohn Series.

Dauphin made an unsuccessful attempt on Guisnes and Hammes.

There seems to have been little treachery on the English side, though we find that the French were not so lucky, judging from an ordinance of Charles VI. issued in 1452 against the practice of succouring Calais prevalent among certain traitorous Frenchmen. The most notable instance on the English side occurred soon after the capture of Calais by Edward III., and has been utilized by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in a recent novel. De Charney, Governor of St. Omer, bribed Aymery de Pavia, Captain of the King's Galleys, wrongly called by Froissart Captain of Calais, to surrender the town to him for £20,000. The plot was betrayed. Edward summoned Aymery to Westminster, and having extorted a confession, apparently pardoned him on condition that he would carry through the plot. Edward then crossed over to Calais with Aymery and a number of knights, thoroughly enjoying this opportunity for an adventure. At the appointed time de Charney appeared before Calais, and sent forward a knight called de Renty with a few followers bearing the money. They were decoyed inside, and captured after a short resistance by the King in person. De Charney remained outside, grumbling at the delay. "I wish the Lombard would open the gate! He will cause us to catch our deaths of cold!" Upon which another knight, the Lord Tippins de Were, remarked: "These Lombards are cunning customers. He will examine your florins to see they are not false." His words were interrupted by the sudden opening of the castle gates, whence Edward III. and the Black Prince, issuing forth under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, put the French to flight after a hard struggle. The King was twice beaten to the ground. With characteristic

chivalry, he treated the prisoners with all honour, dismissing de Charney and Eustace de Ribaumont without ransom. In this fight the expelled French inhabitants of Calais aided their countrymen.[1]

Few regular campaigns were undertaken against Calais, and all ultimately developed into siege operations. Practically two will suffice for the purpose of this essay—the great siege of Calais in the fifteenth century by Philip the Good of Burgundy, and the second and successful attack by the Duke of Guise in the sixteenth. It is true that there were several other occasions when grave fears were held as to the safety of Calais. In 1377 John de Vienne appeared before Calais after his attack on the Isle of Wight, but so cautious were his tactics that he did little more than maintain a desultory blockade; while the Duke of Burgundy's campaign in the same year was confined to the establishment of a few garrisons to check English raids. In 1406 vast preparations for a siege of Calais were only baulked by heavy and incessant rains. Again, in 1407 the Duke of Burgundy's carefully-laid plans were marred by the burning of his stores through the treachery of a burgess of St. Omer, instigated by the Governor of Calais. But the first regular and nearly successful attempt on Calais was in 1436.

A series of squabbles with the English Court, culminating in an English attempt on Ardres, decided the Duke of Burgundy in his meditated siege of Calais. Every possible measure was taken to insure its success.[2] The towns of Flanders were separately invited to send aid; a fleet was requisitioned from Holland. The Duke

[1] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," vol. ii., pp. 5-11.

[2] For a French ballad describing the preparations for this expedition, see "Chants Historiques et Populaires du Temps de Charles VII. et de Louis XI." ("Les Souhais de Tournay," p. 114).

laid stress on his ancient rights over Calais, and on the difficulties that confronted Flemish traders while the town remained in English hands. Everywhere he received an enthusiastic response. Practically the whole of Flanders was pressed into his service. The rich burgesses, proud of their ability to put a force into the field, spent vast sums in splendid and costly equipment, the wearers of which had yet to prove their serviceableness in the field. A fleet was promised from Holland to frustrate any efforts that might be made from England to provision the town. Preliminary skirmishing preceded the regular siege. The garrison of Calais made a furious attack upon Boulogne, only to be driven back, after burning a few vessels in the harbour. On the side of Gravelines, however, they had some success, killing 400 militia and taking 120 prisoners. On the French side, Jean de Croy raided Calais territory with a corps of 500 men raised by himself. The Commander of Calais moved out against him, and took post at Nieulay, the point of entrance of any hostile force, whereupon Jean de Croy occupied an eminence near Gravelines defended by marshes. But the rashness of his troops, who rushed out upon the English without order, spoilt the plans of de Croy, who had to retire, wounded, to Ardres. Then the besieging host closed in upon Calais. The Duke of Burgundy marshalled his forces near Gravelines. So luxuriously complete was the organization that every baggage-waggon, if one may believe Monstrelet, was provided with a cock to crow the time.[1] The Duke marched straight on Calais, thinking the English would evacuate it. The castle of Oye was taken and burnt, and a sally by the English was driven back. Marc, surrendering at discretion, was given over to the Communes of Flanders

[1] Monstrelet's "Chronicles," two vols., 1839, vol. ii., p. 133.

to pillage, and afterwards demolished. Then the Duke commenced a regular siege with a strong force of artillery. But the English resistance was unexpectedly stubborn. The first assault failed, and the activity of the defence forced the Duke to move his camp farther from the walls. Moreover, the garrison of Guisnes was harassing his camp, and endangering his communications. Jean de Croy was detached to seize that fortress, but being strongly fortified, with marshes protecting one flank, it required a regular siege. Nor did the successive captures of Balingham and Sangate assure the success of the Burgundians. Continuous sorties by the defenders proved that their spirit was undiminished. A constant supply of provisions poured in from England, which the Holland fleet was unable to intercept owing to contrary winds preventing an effective blockade. Moreover, the Duke of Gloucester, Governor of Calais, was preparing an army of relief. To crown all, the Flemings mutinied. They had not proved a success as warriors, and the English held them in such contempt that they used to take advantage of their plundering propensities and leave cattle feeding outside the walls, so that they might attack them while returning with their booty.[1]

[1] In a French ballad of 1453 the burghers of Flanders are rebuked for their cowardice before Calais:

"Parellement à Calais,
Dont monseigneur fut moult dolans,
Comment avez-vous tant de pley
Quant en riens vous n'estes vaillens ?
Soiez moy ce mot pardonnans,
Car moins je n'en porroie dire."

"Quant par vous nous sommes languant
En grand orgoeul et vilain ire."[2]

[2] "Chanson contre le Pays de Flandre et la Ville de Gand": "Chants Historiques et Populaires du Temps de Charles VII. et de Louis XI.," par le Roux de Lincey, p. 45. Paris, 1857.

Still the Duke of Burgundy was undaunted. His next move was to erect a wooden tower, placed so as to sweep the ramparts facing in the direction of Gravelines. This the English were unable to destroy. In July the Holland fleet at last arrived, and sank four ships full of stones at the mouth of the harbour; then, entering the harbour, they completed the " bottling " process by sinking one large English ship and two more of their own. All this labour proved useless, for at low tide the garrison could remove the stones, and soon afterwards the Holland fleet retired. This was the signal for renewed symptoms of discontent on the part of the Flemings, who, on the storming and capturing of the wooden tower by the English, which occurred soon afterwards, broke into open mutiny, and marched away. In consequence, the Duke's army was soon after dissolved. So ended ignominiously the most serious attempt made upon Calais until its final recapture.

In 1439 the Duke of Burgundy schemed to inundate Calais by sending pioneers and carpenters, escorted by 1,500 troops, to break the dike between Sangate, Bridge of Nieulay, and Rysbank, so that at high-tide Calais might be swamped. But combined resistance from the garrison of Calais and surrounding forts prevented him from effecting anything beyond breaking the Bridge of Nieulay and some other little works, which were easily repaired. The destruction of the dikes was always a contingency to be guarded against. It was the vulnerable point in the Calais defences. In 1550 there was great anxiety in England over the menacing attitude of the Emperor, and Lord Willoughby was sent over to organize the defences and food-supply of Calais. The Emperor's troops on this occasion overran the low-lying lands of Calais, and broke the sluices at Gravelines, but

happily failed to do much damage. The various garrisons united, and opening all the draining ditches, collected all the water which did not escape into a large lake. The Emperor's intentions being now clear, additions to the fortifications of Rysbank and Guisnes were hurried on, provisions poured in, Willoughby was superseded as being too young, and although a certain Stukely caused general alarm by reporting that the French were bent on taking Calais, no actual attempt was made until the final siege and capture.

The fall of Calais is one of the most painful episodes in English history. It is the old story of gallantry at the scene of conflict rendered abortive by vacillation and panic at the seat of government. For the ten years preceding the actual capture the French had kept their eyes on Calais. In 1556 the discontent aroused in Calais by the severities of a religious Commission sent over by Mary nearly gave them their opportunity. The Protestant faction combined with the disaffected amongst the garrison to open negotiations with the French, who made great preparations by land and sea. The vigilance of Wotton, English Ambassador at Paris, who unravelled the plot, enabled Lord Pembroke to hurry over to Calais with reinforcements in the nick of time, and quietly remove the authors of the conspiracy.

Still the French bided their time. The condition of Calais augured well for their success. Never was a more favourable time for falsifying the proud motto inscribed by the English upon the gate of Calais :

> "Les Français à Calais viendrant planter la siège
> Quand le feu et le plomb nagerant comme liège."[1]

For, in spite of hints from Philip of Spain and other sources regarding the French plans, in spite of continued

[1] Bernard, "Annales de Calais," p. 288.

appeals from the capable Deputy Lord Wentworth for reinforcements, no steps were taken to remedy the defenceless condition of the town. Wentworth had but 500 men at Calais. Lord Grey had 1,000 at Guisnes, but half were Spaniards or Burgundians. "The enemy," wrote Sir Thomas Cornwallis to the Queen, "perceiving our weakness, maketh daily attempts upon your subjects, whom they are not able to hurt nor yet defend themselves." Grey seems to have made some spirited attempts to retaliate, but the opportunities were rare. Even for those scanty forces there were no supplies. An incredibly foolish ordinance had forbidden the export of corn from England, and this at a time when, owing to the wholesale migration of the well-to-do inhabitants across the French border, only the poor and starving remnants of a population remained in the Pale. Finally, religious dissension and mutiny were rife in Calais, breeding suspicion and unrest in every quarter.

The French plans were carried out with admirable secrecy. On December 22 rumours of danger began to filter into Guisnes. Frost had rendered passable the dikes and marshes, which were the chief defence of the Pale; never, perhaps, was food more scarce. It was an ominous moment for an attack. On the 27th it was known that the Duke of Guise was at Abbeville. A council of war, hurriedly summoned to Calais, decided not to take the offensive until the arrival of reinforcements. Wentworth and Grey wrote a joint letter to Mary urging haste. At first it had an effect. The musters of the shires were called out, and the fleet prepared to convey them across the Channel. But the French let Mary understand that no enterprise against Calais was, or ever had been, intended; and Mary believed it. She countermanded the levies. The very letter in

which she informed Grey of her resolution crossed a despatch from him announcing huge French preparations by land and sea, and imploring instant help. He would defend his charge to the last, but aid must be sent, or it would be too late. That very afternoon he added in a postscript that French skirmishers had already appeared before Guisnes, and that the country was swarming with them. And the very next morning Wentworth reported from Calais that the town was invested by land, though not as yet by sea. Nor was the actual attack long delayed. Its method was according to the advice of Pierre Strozzi, an Italian engineer, to whom, indeed, the ultimate success of the French seems to have been attributed.[1]

On the morning of January 2 Newenham Bridge was attacked. The English skirmishers were driven in, and pursued so hotly to the gates that the big guns on the walls could not be depressed to touch them. But the defenders bored holes through the gates with augurs, and repulsed the French with a scourging musketry fire. Without delay the sea was let in in the direction of Guisnes and Hammes, and the French, waist-deep in salt-water, retired on that side also. Wentworth was exultant, and wrote off a cheerful letter to Mary, telling her of the success. Still, he must have succour. Sangate had been assaulted and carried by 3,000 French arquebusiers. The French were 30,000 strong; the English 500. He had just completed his letter when the end came—or nearly the end. A messenger rushed into the room. Newenham Bridge was stormed. Even now the French were swarming over the Rysbank and plant-

[1] *Vide* "Copia di una Lettera della Presa di Cales, per il re Christianissimo" (British Museum), where Calais is mentioned as having been "preso per virtù juditio è prestezza del Mareschal Strozzi."

ing their scaling-ladders against its castle walls; and the possession of Rysbank was the possession of Calais. Hurriedly Wentworth closed the letter and despatched it by a swift boat—the last that ever left Calais as an English possession. Already the castle of Rysbank had surrendered, and the French, having now received their heavy guns, began the siege of Calais itself. Then commenced that terrific bombardment from seventy pieces of artillery,[1] which lasted continuously for two days and two nights, and which is said to have been audible at Antwerp, thirty-four leagues distant. The scanty defenders held out with desperate gallantry until the 6th, when, their commander, Dorset, being slain, and the French having effected an entrance by means of a feint attack, they were forced to evacuate the castle, after an attempt to blow it up had been rendered futile by a damp fuse. Every effort to retake it proved fruitless, and since without it the town was untenable, Wentworth was forced to capitulate on the sole condition that the lives of soldiers and inhabitants would be spared. The expelled population, who crossed over to England, were forbidden to take any of their effects with them, and their destitute condition increased the general indignation at the loss of the city.[2]

There remained the fortress of Guisnes, stoutly held by that fierce soldier Lord Grey, straitly encompassed by the whole army of France. One last message Grey managed to despatch to Queen Mary on January 4 by way of Gravelines, pathetically endorsed, "Haste, haste, haste! Post-haste for thy life, for thy life!" But no help came. After a gallant resistance, the scanty

[1] "Il battere è stato con 60 canoni e dieci columbrine; lasso giudicare a voi la furia che è stata" ("Copia di una Lettera della Presa di Cales, per il re Christianissimo" (British Museum).

[2] "Cambridge Modern History," vol. ii., p. 548.

English garrison was driven within the keep—their last defence. Negotiations were opened. Even in that extremity Grey broke them off, because the French refused to allow the garrison to march out with colours flying. But this was too much for his subordinates. Their position was untenable, and this meant, by the rules of war, that if they continued to defend it they might justifiably be slain without quarter. Even as the French were planting their ladders for the final assault, the soldiers of the garrison forced Grey to accept the enemy's terms. He and some of his officers were detained as prisoners; the rest of the garrison were sent home to England, with a small sum of money apiece. Guisnes received better terms than Calais, but little more.

Wentworth and Grey provide what little of glory pertains to the last stage of English Calais. To those who ask what Mary and her Council did to aid their desperate efforts, the answer is that between December 27, 1557, and January 8, 1558, was played the most tragical comedy to be found in the history of English misgovernment. On the night of the 4th Grey had written that he was "clean cut off from all relief and aid." It was known about the same time in England that Calais was practically lost. The reality of the danger utterly paralyzed the Government. Although the Spaniards had been waiting for several days for an English force to join them,[1] no actual steps had been taken for recalling the levies of the shires until January 2. The Duke of Rutland was chiefly responsible for the musters. So vague were his directions that the levies arrived unarmed. They were sent back to fetch their

[1] Eventually the Spaniards, more solicitous for Calais than Mary's Government, gallantly skirted the coast from Gravelines and attacked the besiegers, only to be hurled back by overwhelming forces.

arms. No sooner had a respectable force with arms been collected than it appeared that the fleet was unseaworthy. This was the last straw. Rutland seems to have completely lost his head, threw himself into a boat unattended, and had crossed half-way to Calais when the folly of the attempt dawned upon him, and he returned, thankful to have escaped the penalty of his rashness.

The news of the actual capture of Calais threw the Court into a perfect frenzy of activity. The shires were again summoned to send their contingents. By the 6th 30,000 men were collected, with an adequate fleet to escort them. Then Fate stepped in. The calm of many weeks was succeeded by a violent storm. The fleet was scattered, battered, neutralized. Queen and Council abandoned all hope, utterly cowed. The bewildered levies, for the fourth time within a fortnight, were sent home. Hardly had they departed than the transports of Philip of Spain sailed into the English ports, to carry them across the Channel for one last dash for Calais—too late.

Thus shamefully was cast away the last English possession in France. Incredulity and incompetence at home rendered unavailing the desperate courage and patriotism of Wentworth and Grey, and Pope Paul IV. was not far wrong when he said that " the loss of Calais was the dowry of Queen Mary."

COMMERCE

Calais had practically no native industries. The produce of corn-growing districts was absorbed in feeding the garrison and civil population, and even such common necessaries as timber and ordinary provisions seem to have been transported from England. A scanty source of profit was provided by the gathering and preparation of mint, which was used for medicinal purposes. The King used to name the receiver of the produce of this industry, as, for instance, in 1446, when a certain Richard Vernon was appointed. More important was the herring trade. The process of salting herrings, invented by William Benchelens of Barsliet in 1416, enabled herrings to be sold at long distance from the scene of their capture, and the convenient situation of Calais rendered it an important centre for this industry. Beer-brewing was also important. The presence of so many beer-loving English soldiers rendered it a necessity, and beer-houses were numerous throughout the town. So indispensable was beer to the garrison that Wentworth, in a despatch to Queen Mary in 1558, excused himself for not having opened the sluices and let in the sea upon the besieging French on the score that he feared "infesting the water wherewith we brew" with salt water.[1]

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. liii., p. 312, where other instances are given of the importance of beer-brewing.

But the true commercial importance of Calais lay in the fact that it was the vent for English trade.

For 200 years the commercial history of Calais is practically the commercial history of England. For military purposes Calais was the "gate into France"; from the standpoint of commerce Calais was a gate out of England. That without the Staple Calais would have lost half its importance is undisputed, and consequently the history of commercial Calais is bound up with the rise, decline, and fall of the Staple.

The object and nature of the Staple are simple and obvious. It originated in the desire of the Sovereign that there should be one centre for collecting customs and duties, for the adjustment of commercial disputes, and for the storing of merchandise. Centralization of commerce was no less beneficial to the merchants than to the Sovereign, for it assured that the royal authority would always aid them in repressing smugglers, while at the same time it implied the certainty of a market for their goods. The Staple arrangements only applied to exported goods. It was probably originated by Edward II.,[1] but Edward III. developed the principle, and in 1348 established the Staple at Calais. His immediate object was to interest the newly arrived inhabitants of Calais in their town by enriching them, and to attract merchants to the place.

By the ordinance of April 15, the Staple was established at Calais for seven years. The following articles were forbidden to be exported from England elsewhere than to Calais: lead, tin, woollen stuffs, and worsted, and all exporters of these goods must swear to the inspector of customs that they would take their wares to Calais and nowhere else under pain of forfeiture. The Staple,

[1] David Macpherson, "Annals of Commerce," etc., vol. i., pp. 478, 479. London, 1804.

as will be seen hereafter, was frequently removed from Calais during the first period of the occupation, but on each occasion when it was restored the same kind of regulations were made. Thus, in 1363 Edward, in restoring the Staple, ordered that wool and all other merchandise for exportation should be brought to Calais and nowhere else, and in 1376 the Sheriffs of Suffolk, London, Essex, Cambridge, and Norfolk were ordered to proclaim the re-establishment of the Staple at Calais, and the obligation of all exporters to take their goods there. As to the goods enumerated in the list of exports which had to be taken to Calais, the number apparently increased with the prosperity of England, for in 1376, in addition to wool, woolfells, lead, and tin, there were included leather, cheese, honey, and butter.

In 1363 Edward made his first attempt at organizing the Staple. It was not a success. The two Mayors and twenty-four Aldermen jointly superintended the municipal as well as commercial affairs, their functions being "governer la ville et les gentz, et les marchandises qui viendront illoeques." They had cognizance of all debts, covenants, contracts, crimes, and felonies of a commercial character, and could judge commercial cases according to the Staple law, their decision being executed under the Statute of Merchants, as in England. If their sentences were appealed against, the case was examined by a tribunal consisting of the Governor, Treasurer, two Mayors, and two merchants appointed by the Mayors and Aldermen. As regards merchandise, all wool, woolfells, tin, lead, coal, and grindstones exported from England, Wales, Ireland, and from Berwick-on-Tweed, by Englishmen as well as by foreigners, must pass through Calais on pain of forfeiture, with the exception of goods bound for the English possessions in France; and all merchants before quitting England must swear not to take goods anywhere

except to Calais. The Mayors and Aldermen could make all necessary inquiries to insure the carrying out of these regulations, such as searching ships suspected of smuggling goods away without visiting Calais, and inspecting exported wool,[1] and could punish infractions according to Merchant Law or the custom of the country. The merchandise of delinquents could be seized, half being given to the King and half to the Mayors and Aldermen. The latter were empowered to grant permission when necessary to foreign merchants to reside in the town for purposes of commerce, so long as they broke none of the regulations.

This system of dual control resulted in misunderstandings and confusion, and in 1365 Edward wisely decided to separate the municipal power from the commercial administration. A Mayor, appointed by the King from amongst the Aldermen, was placed at the head of the Staple. His office did not acquit him of any obligation incumbent on Aldermen in general, but he was assisted in his duties by two Constables, appointed, paid, and dismissed by the Staple. He received £40 a year from the King, and might receive an additional salary from the Staple, so long as no fresh taxation was involved; all rents and claims of a commercial nature were to be dealt with by the Mayor and Commonalty of the Staple. The first to hold the office of Mayor was John Torgold, a Londoner. In the following year Edward II. granted the right of electing the Mayor, as well as the two Constables, to the merchants. The elections were to take place annually on the day of the Annunciation, March 25. At the same time the Company were given a special prison for confining prisoners condemned by their tribunal.[2]

[1] P. of P. C., vol. ii., p. 323.
[2] R. O. F. R., 32, M. 9, 39 E. III.

In 1376 a long ordinance was issued, renewing the privileges formerly granted to the Company and adding others. Its object was to ameliorate the condition of Calais, to assure the security of traders, and to attract fresh merchants. The right of free election, cognizance of commercial suits and misdemeanours, and a special gaol were renewed, with the addition that, if for any reason no special gaol was available, they might make use of the royal prison. Many new regulations also came into force. The Mayor was to receive recognizances of debts, which must be made in the presence of one or both of the Constables; no merchant or sergeant of the Staple was forced to submit to the judicial duel except of his own free-will; officers at the head of the Company were to appoint, with the consent of the other members, the house and situation to be assigned to merchants for storing goods. These merchants must not be dispossessed without good reason. The Staple was also given power to make ordinances necessary for good order, and to fix, with the assent of the Company, the amount of taxes to be paid on goods entering the mart, the proceeds going towards the payment of workmen's wages. These taxes might be diminished according to the state of trade. Various exemptions attached to members of the Staple. They were not, for instance, pecuniarily responsible for offences committed by their servants, or bound to answer for a debt contracted by them unless previously guaranteed. When travelling to Calais, they were exempt from such personal dues as were exacted at Dover, while in Calais they were exempt from taxes on bread, wine, beer, and other victuals bought for personal consumption. Lastly, the Company was authorized to have a balance made according to the royal standard, under the surveillance of the treasurer,

and to have it repaired when necessary. Richard II., when re-establishing the Staple at Calais in 1390, after a temporary removal, granted its members the right of possessing land at Calais, and transmitting their goods by will, provided that an Englishman was the heir. Mortmain lands were, of course, an exception. In 1393 he confirmed their right of electing the Mayor and Constables, as did most of his successors. Henry IV. at first reserved to himself the appointment of high officials, but subsequently restored freedom of election, besides granting to the Company the right of choosing and dismissing its employés. Henry V. and Henry VI. confirmed all former privileges. In 1448 grave defects in the administration of the Staple came to light. It appeared that the principal merchants were frequently absent from Calais, leaving as their representatives underlings who had little at stake, and who, seizing the opportunity of airing their crude theories on political economy, issued regulations regarding the sale and exposure of wool which were neither useful nor well conceived. The elections were similarly in inefficient hands, and were often disputed; while the disorder caused by a recent mutiny of the garrison, whose wages were in arrear, increased the wastage of the Company's goods and the evil effect on commerce and the kingdom generally. To remedy these disorders, Henry VI. placed a sort of Protector over the Staple, styled "gubernator et conservator noster stapule nostre." The post was given for five years to William, Earl of Suffolk. What his duties exactly were is obscure, but we know that he had to consult the chief merchants of the Staple, and had power to punish disobedience to the laws and ordinances.

In 1466 the Staple reached the zenith of its political power, for in this year Edward IV. practically placed the

government of Calais in its hands.[1] The Mayor of the Staple was made Treasurer and Supervisor of Works, his Lieutenant was appointed Victualler, and for eight years the King abandoned to the Staplers the right to all produce from the territory of Calais and all customs on wool exported from England. With the funds arising from this produce the Staplers were to pay the garrison, execute such works as were necessary for the defence, and recoup themselves for loans negotiated with the King. They became, in fact, the farmers of the royal dues. All duties on wool, woolfells, "shorlyng and morlyng," passing out of the kingdom, except in the case of wool conveyed through the Straits of Gibraltar, were to belong to the Mayor and Society of the Staple, to whom the King's Inspector was ordered to hand them over. Moreover, the Staplers were to control all lands, tenures, rents, water, fisheries, tolls, and taxes belonging to the King in his capacity of Suzerain of Calais. In order to pay the wages of the Captains and garrison of Rysbank, Guisnes and Hammes, amounting in all to £10,022, the customs on wool and half the revenues of the English royal possessions in France were set aside. A third part of these wages were, as usual, to be paid in kind. The other half of the royal revenues in France was assigned to provide for the repair and construction of works and artillery. A debt of £3,286, which was due from the King, was to be discharged by the annual payment of a sum of £5,000 put aside from the taxes on wool. If the total funds amassed by the Staplers in any year exceeded £15,022, they must render an account of the surplus to the Exchequer ; if this limit was not reached, they might recoup themselves the following year. This farming system proved an admirable innovation, and in 1473 it

[1] R. O. F. R., 134, M. 22, 6 E. III.

was renewed by ordinance for sixteen years more.[1] The same conditions were imposed on the Staplers as previously, with the addition of one inexplicable regulation —that the functions of Mayor, Constable, Treasurer, and Collector could only be exercised by men resident in England. The system worked so successfully that when, in 1487, the agreement ended, Henry VII renewed it for another sixteen years.[2] Apparently this arrangement ceased on the expiry of the term ; at any rate, the Tudors reverted to the old system. In 1553 Edward VI. made an agreement with the Company, whereby the Merchants of Staple were allowed for slightly over two years to transport to Calais unhindered from England wools, skins, "morlyng and shorlyng," on condition that they paid the established customs. In 1555 Philip II. and Mary confirmed these arrangements for fifteen years.

It was Richard II. who first provided a hall for the Staple. Hitherto the wool had been stored in various premises cheaply constructed and often unsuited for the purpose. There were no regular warehouses. In 1390 Richard granted the site of Pillory Haven on condition of a yearly offering of a pair of golden spurs. On this site was built an edifice containing both the offices of the Company and accommodation for the wool, "dont la magnifique structure et la vaste étendue nous fait voir ce que pouvaient les marchands de Calais pendant que les Anglais y étaient les maîtres."[3] In 1399 Henry IV. confirmed the Staplers in their enjoyment of Pillory Haven on condition of the usual payment of a pair of spurs, and Henry VI. gave them the lands and marshes

[1] R. of P., vol. vi., p. 55.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. vi., pp. 395 *et seq.*

[3] P. Bernard, "Annales de Calais et du Pays Reconquis," p. 70. St. Omer, 1715.

situated in the suburbs. Henry VII. increased the property of the Staplers by giving them an empty piece of ground called " Princes Inn," with the garden adjoining it, for an annual payment of £6, with exemption from service on the watch, such as would ordinarily have been entailed by its possession. All taxes, too, were remitted on bread, wine, beer, and other victuals consumed at the place.[1] Henry VIII. also gave the Staple a piece of ground adjoining the Staple Inn at an annual quittance of one penny.

The numerous advantages attaching to the Company of the Staple—the constant protection afforded to them by the Sovereign, their complete control over their own affairs, and the unlimited possibilities for successful trading which were open to them—were to a certain extent counterbalanced by disadvantages, some periodical, some almost continually in evidence. Such were, for instance, the constant opposition of Parliament to the fixing of the Staple in a foreign country, and the frequent removal of the Staple owing to threatened attack by France. Such, again, was the King's habit of granting trading licences to foreigners, and of using the Company of Staplers as a sort of money-lending firm. Besides this licensed trading, there were frequent evasions by unauthorized persons of the rule that all goods exported from England must first be brought to Calais. Towards the latter part of the occupation quarrels between the Staple and the Municipality, and later still between the Staplers and Merchant Adventurers, greatly imperilled the stability and prosperity of English trade in Calais.

The opposition of Parliament to the fixing of the Staple at Calais was at first very serious, in spite of the King's

[1] R. O. F. R., 165, M. 5, 1 H. VII.

support of the Company. Even at its first establishment in 1348 there were murmurs in England at this privilege granted to a conquered city. But Edward, far from yielding, ordered the Captain to send over not less than four of the inhabitants of Calais to assist at the deliberations of the Council, and explain the advantages accruing to England from the presence of the Staple at Calais.[1] Their arguments apparently failed to convince the murmurers, for in 1353 Edward was forced to give way, and admitting that harm was caused to English trade by the Staple being at Calais, arranged for its removal to various towns in England, Ireland, and Wales, Calais not being included.[2] Although only wool, leather, and skins are mentioned in the list of Staple commodities, probably the Staple for tin and cloth was also removed. But it soon became obvious that the Staple ought to be at Calais,[3] and in 1363 it was restored. Again, in 1390 Parliament, jealous of the privileges granted to the Staple in January of that year, pressed for the return of the Staple to England, and gilded their request with the promise of extra grants of money. Richard II., being short of money, and consequently eager to humour Parliament, proclaimed that the Staple should be transferred to Westminster, and named as Mayor John Haddele.[4] He refused, however, to accede to the demand of the Commons that the Staple of tin should be removed to Lostwithiel before the wool Staple was removed from Calais. As a matter of fact, the whole agitation came to nothing, and the Staple remained at Calais. Gradually Parliament came to understand the advantages of having the Staple at Calais, and ceased their opposition.

[1] Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. iii., part i., p. 178. London, 1825.
[2] R. of P., vol. ii., p. 246. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 246.
[4] R. O. S. R., M. 2, 1-23 R. II.

There still remained, however, the frequent fear of French attack on Calais as a motive for removing the Staple from so exposed a situation. In 1369, for instance, Edward III. removed the Staple by ordinance to England;[1] but apparently the transfer was not immediately effected, for there are two documents of the year 1370 which mention the existence of Staple officers at Calais.[2] In any case, it was restored in 1376, the fear of invasion being allayed. In 1384 negotiations were opened with Flanders with a view to establishing the Staple there owing to danger from France, and as a result the Staple was transferred to Middelburg. But in the following year the Chancellor pointed out to Parliament that it was unsatisfactory to retain the Staple in a foreign town, owing to the difficulty of collecting the dues,[3] and in 1387 the Commons demand " que l'estaple de leyns soit remué de Middelburgh tan que a Caleys, pas entre cy et le fest de St. Michel proschein,"[4] as a result of which the Staple was restored to Calais in 1388. In 1404 the Commons, in fear of France, begged for the transference of the Staple, but Henry IV. eluded the demand.

More injurious to the position and prosperity of the Staplers at Calais were the infringements of the restrictions made upon trade in their favour, whether by authority of King or Parliament, or by merchants eager to push their own interests irrespective of legal restrictions. In 1376, for instance, Italian merchants, Genoese, Tuscans, Venetians, or Lombards were permitted to buy wool in Calais and transport it to their homes, so long as they wrapped it in sacks and guaranteed not to sell it in Flanders or in countries situated north of the Alps, thus securing English interests in the North West of Europe.

[1] " Statutes of the Realm," vol. i., p. 390.
[2] R. O. F. R., 37, M. 8 and 9, 44 E. III.
[3] R. of P., vol. iii., p. 203. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 250.

In 1377 matters came to a head. The King had evidently been granting "licencie traducendi" without passing through the Staple or paying any dues except to the Treasury. These licencies increased almost daily. Moreover, Parliament had authorized the merchants of Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, and other Western countries, to charge their vessels at Southampton and other ports of England without touching at Calais.[1] Added to this, there was much fraud, and merchants were constantly crossing direct to Flanders without permission. Under these conditions the burgesses of Calais complained that the Staple conferred no advantage on them. Richard II. answered that the statute was still in force except as regarded goods, the direct exportation of which Parliament had allowed, and adopted the remedy suggested by the burgesses — namely, that the accounts of the royal inspectors both at Calais and in England should be annually inspected, by which means those who had failed to visit Calais would be easily discovered. The King consequently ordered that all exporters should deposit annually at the Exchequer the quittance received from the Treasury at Calais or in England. Yet we find that Parliament in 1380 authorized the free exportation for a year of butter and cheese, and in 1382 allowed all traders, English and foreign, to transport to all countries save France, wool, leather, and skins, if they paid in advance "the custumes, subsides, et devoirs de Caleys," with a discount of 6s. 8d. on the tax on a sack of wool and package of 240 skins,[2] both of which regulations were detrimental to the prosperity of the Staplers.

In 1376 complaint was made of exemptions granted by the King, who promised to limit the number. Henry IV.

[1] "Statutes of the Realm," vol. ii., p. 8.
[2] R. of P., vol. iii., p. 124.

made the same promise in 1400, and in 1414 and 1423 the same King assented to a request from the Merchants of the Staple that the ordinances regarding the export of goods solely to Calais should be observed, while reserving to himself the right of special licences, such as that given in 1423 to Richard Snelling to receive merchandise at the Lantern Gate. The King was also allowed to grant temporary licences in order to satisfy his creditors.[1] Still, there were certain other modifications. Goods from Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland, and the bishopric of Durham could be taken abroad without passing through Calais, though "sleighter lains," or light wool, must be taken to Calais as before. The Commons also, in 1425, made the very sensible suggestion that "butter and cheese, being perishable, might be permitted to be sent straight to their destination, with the permission of the Great Chancellor."[2] Henry VI. found the commerce of Calais in a state of serious decline, which was attributed to the abuse of licences. The Mayor, Hamon Sutton, pointed out the grievance to the King, who sought to remedy it by permitting the Staplers to carry to the town without taxation an amount of merchandise equal to that transported abroad by virtue of royal permission. Still the abuse continued, and Parliament made fresh complaints. The ordinance of 1449, issued in consequence of them, illustrates some of the prevalent disorders. It was computed that, whereas under Edward III. the Staple brought the Treasury £68,000, it now only brought in £12,000. This was attributed to the number of licences granted, and to the bad faith of merchants, who bought "leynes et peaulx lanney en autre lieu que leur licence

[1] P. of P. C., vol. iii., p. 203A.
[2] R. of P., vol. iv., pp. 53, 250, 293.

conteint, en eskippant plus grand nombre et pois, et colourant par nouvelles controvées nouns comme morlyng et shorlyng" the wools which they exported. There were also certain people in Brabant who sold merchandise to those who would otherwise have repaired to Calais. Many taxes, too, were unpaid, owing to the dishonesty of inspectors.[1] To remedy these abuses it was proclaimed that after a certain date no special licences were to be given except to certain persons designated by name, and that the Company's privileges were to be protected against those who exported unlawfully. For the time matters improved, and the privileges of the Staple were not violated, and in 1459 the King, in granting a special licence to the merchants of Newcastle-on-Tyne, mentions that the assent of the Merchants of the Staple had been obtained.[2] In 1463, however, Edward IV. was obliged to renew the prohibition against exporting goods elsewhere than to Calais, providing that delinquents should be punished with two years' imprisonment and the confiscation of their merchandise, half falling to the King, half to the discoverer of the fraud.[3] During the Civil War which subsequently broke out not only did licences increase, since both parties sought to conciliate adherents, but merchants were rused or forced into paying customs. Consequently, in 1465 Edward limited the ports of export to nine, and controlled the passage of merchandise to Calais by making all exporters present annually to the Exchequer certificates given by the inspectors at Calais showing the number of vessels they had brought into the port and the value of their cargo. The goods of transgressors were to be divided between the King and the Company.

[1] "Statutes of the Realm," vol. ii., p. 345.
[2] R. O. S. R., 125, 5, 37 H. VI.
[3] "Statutes of the Realm," vol. ii., p. 394.

Perhaps the money-lending transactions into which the Staplers entered with the Kings of England should not be classed altogether as an illustration of the disadvantages of their position. The very fact that the King owed them money tended to render him the protector of their privileges and the promoter of their interests. The man or the community which finds the cash is ever the wielder of the greatest influence. Yet the demands of the Sovereigns, which could scarcely be refused, were always a drain upon the funds of the Staple. They were a constant annoyance, if not a constant embarrassment. The fifteenth century may roughly be said to mark the period when the Merchants of the Staple became the financiers of the Crown. The ever-needy garrison of Calais, as might be expected, set the ball rolling. Being, as usual, in arrear of wages, they seized the merchants' stock of wool. The merchants complained to Henry IV., who asked them to advance the sum necessary for the payment of the troops. When they sought to evade the request, Henry is said to have retorted: "You have money, and I want it. Where is it?" The merchants yielded on condition that the Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury would guarantee their repayment.[1] In 1407 Henry IV. assigned half the sum obtained on the dues on wool at Calais for the payment of the soldiers; but this proving insufficient, the Staplers again came to the rescue. The King thanked them, and in order to repay them excused them all customs payable on wool exported between May 15, 1406, and September 29, 1407, and suspended the claims of creditors of the Merchants of the Staple.[2] Henry VI. borrowed largely from the merchants. In 1447 he bor-

[1] Haydon, "Continuatio Eulogii Historiarum," vol. iii., p. 411.
[2] R. O. F. R., 74, M. 9, 8 H. IV.

rowed 500 marks, and in the same year abandoned to the Staplers the proceeds of all the taxes due to him until they were repaid. Not long afterwards he borrowed another sum of £10,366 13s. 4d. The years 1450, 1453, and 1455 witnessed further transactions of the sort, and in 1458 £2,600 was borrowed to pay the wages of the troops, and another £1,000 for the expenses of the royal household. All these sums were repaid, not in cash, but by immunity from customs. Edward IV. was likewise compelled to seek assistance from the merchants, and in 1464 borrowed £32,861, to be paid for by the revenues from the taxes on wool. Again, in 1471 the King borrowed £13,000, in order to pay part of the dowry of his sister Margaret on her marriage to Charles the Bold.[1] The merchants in this case apparently made difficulties, for Edward had to apply to the Duke of Burgundy for an extension of the time limit. In the same year it was found advisable to redeem the Crown jewels, which had been pledged to a certain Thomas Portinare, and for this purpose £2,700 was borrowed on the security of three instalments of £100 each on the wages of the garrison.[2] In 1473 the sums borrowed by the King amounted to £22,700, and the King promised not to change the Staple until it was repaid.[3] In fact, Edward IV. left so many debts that they were still being paid off in Henry VII.'s reign by taxes levied on exported wool. The first of the Tudors was less impecunious, and only borrowed small sums—£130, £877, and £466—at the beginning of his reign ;[4] and from this time onwards the decline of the Staple and the invention of

[1] R. O. F. R., 139, M. 15, 11 E. IV.
[2] *Ibid.*, 140, M. 4, 12 E. IV.
[3] R. of P., vol. vi., p. 55.
[4] " Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.," pp. 232, 233, 266.

other sources of revenue, such as the dissolution of religious institutions, and the various and ingenious devices of Tudor statesmen, enforced and enabled future Kings to leave the Staplers in possession of their ever-diminishing gains.

Friction between the Merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers did not become a very serious obstacle to the prosperity of the former until the latter half of the fifteenth century. In the famous "Debate betweene the Heralds," the English herald proudly boasts that the two Companies divided between them the commerce of Europe. "Concerning your marchauntes of Fraunce, we have also marchauntes in England who frequenteth the world for traffique of marchaundyse. And especially two companyes—that is to say, the ryght whorshypful companye of marchauntes adventurers and the famous felyship of the Estaple of Calais—by whom, not only the martes of Barowe and Andwarpe be mayntened, but also in effect al the townes of Brabant, Holand, Zeland, and Flanders. These two companies do more feates of marchaundise than al the marchauntes of Fraunce, and for so moche as all the worlde knoweth this to be trewe, I pass them over." The sphere of the Merchant Adventurers was roughly confined to Flanders, but it is evident that towards the latter half of the fifteenth century they were gradually encroaching on the limits which the Staplers considered their own. The first conflict took place in 1458. Henry VI. took the part of the Staplers, and Philip the Good of Burgundy put them under his protection. The root of the whole evil was that the Merchant Adventurers and the Merchant Staplers performed each other's functions, thus causing inextricable confusion. There was, besides, the undoubted fact that the Company of the Staple was in its

decline, and that the Merchant Adventurers were slowly supplanting it. The events of the year 1504 illustrate the prevalent confusion and rivalry. The Merchant Adventurers complained of the Staplers, who retorted that their privileges exempted them from the jurisdiction of the Merchant Adventurers. The matter came before the Star Chamber, which decided, with Henry VII.'s approval, that a distinction must be made, and that when the Adventurers acted as Staplers they must conform to the rules of the Staple, the Staplers acting similarly in the converse case. So great was the confusion at this period that the Adventurers met at Calais by virtue of an ordinance of September 28, 1505, to elect their Governor and his twenty-four assistants. They also made use of the prison at Calais. Shortly after this decision of the Star Chamber the Merchant Adventurers seized some wool belonging to the Staplers, for which Henry VII. sternly reprimanded them. The materials for the commercial history of Calais in the sixteenth century are singularly scanty, but there is little doubt that it would prove a record of continual quarrels between the Staplers and Adventurers. Constant squabbles regarding money and the quality of wool wore out the energies and wasted the time of both organizations, and contributed not a little to the rapid decline of commerce at Calais; for it is indisputable that there was a continuous and rapid decline throughout the sixteenth century. An extraordinary prohibition of Henry VII. against any burgess of Calais being an agent or commissioner for a merchant living in England had naturally turned many people out of employment, and caused the population of the town to decline. Although the ordinance was withdrawn in 1504, matters did not mend, as is shown by a plaintive petition to the King from the

Merchants of the Staple in 1527. For 500 years they had been incontestably the first commercial association in Europe. They had frequently paid the wages of the garrison, and had deserved well of their Sovereign and their country. Yet now they were in "poore and lowe estate." They were paying forty shillings on every sack of wool—no less than one-quarter of the value of the whole—the highest duty ever levied by any King. Trade had sadly diminished during the last seven years, for while their own number had dwindled from 400 to 140 or 160, continuous wars prevented the Flemings and the French from frequenting the Staple. To crown their woes, sheep disease was prevalent in England, and the Flemings repaired to Spain more and more for their wool. In 1523 the Merchants of the Staple were so impecunious that, so far from being able to lend the King money, they owed him £2,350, while in 1535 Henry VIII. resumed all the lands of the Staple except the Staple Hall as security for the sums owed to him.[1]

Matters went from bad to worse. Not only was trade diminishing; not only were there squabbles between Staplers and Adventurers and between Staplers and Municipality (even on the eve of the capture there was bickering between the Mayor of the town and the Mayor of the Staple); not only were numerous causes, both human and fortuitous, combining to ruin the Staple; but at this critical moment the Kings seem to have lost their former interest in its welfare. It is true that Edward VI. made an agreement with the Staplers, but he made them pay the established customs, and this arrangement was continued by Philip and Mary. Otherwise there is little record of that fatherly supervision of the interests of English commerce at Calais which all previous Sovereigns

[1] Dillon, "Calais and the Pale," *Archæologia*, vol. liii., p. 327.

had exercised, and without a strong hand to curb faction and allay disputes, it was impossible that prosperity should be maintained.

It cannot be said that the Kings of England failed to realize the importance of protecting, supervising, and regulating the trade of Calais. They recognized that if Calais was worth the trouble and expense connected with its maintenance, it was trade which rendered it so. Consequently, the merchants of Calais might nearly always be sure of the King's support, whether it was against the encroachments of the Merchant Adventurers or the depredations of foreign Powers. In 1412, for instance, Henry IV. granted letters of reprisal to certain merchants whose ships, laden with wine, had been captured by the French. It is curious that at this time Calais appears to have been regarded as a neutral port, and the principle was upheld that cargoes destined for Calais could not be seized. In 1450 some English pirates captured the ships of some merchants from Bruges. The Duke of Burgundy retaliated by seizing property of the Staplers to the value of 2,000 marks. Henry VI., being appealed to, let the injured merchants off their taxes, and mediated with the Duke regarding the captured property ; and the same King, eight years later, ordered Henry Shapp, Doctor of Law and Lieutenant of the Staple, to meet the emissary of the Duke of Burgundy and settle a dispute between the Staplers and some Flemish buyers. It was sometimes necessary for the merchants to obtain redress from English marauders, who, by attacking foreign vessels, caused retaliation and consequent damage. John Stodeley thus describes an interview which took place in 1454 between the Chancellor and a deputation : " The meire and merchaunty of London and the mair and merchaunty of the Staple of Caleys were with the Chaun-

cellor on Monday last passed at Lamhithe, and compleyned on the Lord Bonvile for takying of the shippes and godes of the Flemmynges and other of the Duke of Burgynes Lordships, and the Chauncellor gave theym none answere to their pleyng; wherefore the substance of theym with one voys cryed alowde, 'Justice, justice, justice!' wherof the Chauncellor was so dismayed that he coude ne myght no more sey to theym for fere."[1]

Nor were successive Sovereigns chary of exercising supervision over trade, and checking what they considered to be abuses. Faulty legislation by the Staplers was often severely reprimanded. Edward III. ordered that four deputies drawn from the merchants' guilds should render him an account annually of the trade which passed through the Staple. Richard II. even interfered in the elections of the Mayor and Constable, and in 1393 secured the retention of John Haddele as Mayor and John Trumpington as Constable. He took a similar course in 1394. In 1408 Henry IV. annulled an ordinance issued by the Lieutenant of the Constable forbidding the selling of new wool at Calais until the stock of old wool was exhausted, a measure which was prejudicial to the King's interests, since it lessened the amount of taxes received, and to those of English producers, since it prevented the circulation of their products. In this case Henry made his will known through the Mayor of the Staple, Richard Whittington, the hero of children's story-books. In 1438 a Clerk of the Market was created at Calais to increase the possibilities of royal supervision.[2] Henry V. interfered to check excessive speculation on the part of members of the Staple, who

[1] "Paston Letters: News Letter of John Stodeley, January 19, 1454," vol. i., pp. 267, 268. Gairdner's edition, 1900.

[2] P. of P. C. Minutes, February 16, 1438.

often found means of obtaining the goods of foreigners at low prices and reselling them at huge profits. Henry forbade merchants at Calais to buy goods for the purpose of selling them again on pain of forfeiture.[1]

The general policy of the English Kings in regard to commerce was liberal, elastic, and beneficial. The guiding principle was friendship, as a rule, with Flanders; hostility, as a rule, to France. Yet even Flanders was not on an equality with England. At the most, her merchants had the privileges of a "favoured nation." There was always, for instance, the regulation that all goods must first touch at Calais. This was only relaxed when, owing to menace from France or the wishes of Parliament, the Staple was removed from Calais. In 1451, it is true, permission was given to the Merchants of the Staple to transport wool as far as Bruges, but there is little doubt that Henry VI. was at this time engaged in an intrigue with the Duke of Burgundy, to whom Bruges belonged. There were also very sensible exceptions made in the case of perishable goods, such as cheese and butter, and articles bound for the English possessions in Gascony or in the South-West of France. On the whole, the commercial legislation of the English Kings during the whole period of the occupation tended to maintain the supremacy of English trade, while at the same time encouraging intercourse with foreign merchants, and attracting them to the Staple. Thus, in 1476 merchants from all parts of Italy were allowed to buy wool in Calais, and transport it to their homes under certain very reasonable conditions; and all traders going to the Staple were excused personal taxes at Dover, except such as were levied for St. Martin's Church. That friendship with Flanders was im-

[1] R. of P., vol. iv., p. 360.

perative for the prosperity of the English wool trade was quite recognized by nearly every King. Even Henry VI. sought to retain the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy. The first actual agreement was drawn up in 1437. Squabbles with John the Fearless proved so detrimental to English trade that Henry IV. drew up an agreement with him. Merchants of both countries and their representatives and employés might go freely by land and sea from Calais to Flanders and from Flanders to Calais with all sorts of wares, so long as they left behind their arms, artillery, and other "invasibles." They must travel by road along the coast between the actual seashore and the castles of Marck and Oye. They might obtain provisions in the country where they happened to be, and must pay the ordinary tolls and dues. If the traders came by sea, they must leave their arms and artillery on board; daggers and swords must remain in their houses. The Tudors were especially eager to maintain a good understanding with Flanders. In 1496 Henry VII. concluded a treaty with the Archduke Philip in the Church of Notre Dame by deputy. It was agreed that foreign merchants must obey the police laws. Not more than thirty Flemings must come to Calais, and when the merchants of Calais came to Flanders they must leave their arms in their inns. Each side was to send deputies periodically to England for consultation. In 1499 it was further arranged that Philip's subjects should pay a duty of half a mark at Calais on every sack of wool, unless it was proved that there was disease among English sheep, in which case the duty might be augmented. About this time, too, a serious grievance was remedied. By the ordinance of 1473 it was enacted that goods packed at their original starting-place need not be unpacked at Calais. This had resulted in the

frequent placing of stones and sand in the sacks instead of wool, to make up the necessary weight. Henry VII. arranged that the "paccatores" should be forced to swear to fulfil their office honestly, and write their names on the package. In case of fraud, the Flemings must demand redress before the expiry of three months; afterwards their complaint could not be upheld. The officers of the Staple had to decide in such case; if their sentence was not given within twenty days, and if the seller had not paid the buyer, the act of sale became void, and the price had to be restored. There was no appeal from the officers of the Staple, except to the King or his special delegates. In 1506 Henry VII. signed another treaty of commerce with the Archduke Philip, chiefly applying to the wool trade, which had fallen into decay, owing to the habit of mixing bad with good wool. Trade was in such a state of decline that, instead of forty varieties of wool being on show at the Staple, hardly ten were sold under the name of the best English districts, and even these often contained a considerable amount of mediocre wool. To prevent this fraud, inspectors were named to mark with their seals the bales of wool in the districts which produced them. Henry VIII. is remarkable for his broad-minded encouragement of foreign merchants. He evidently recognized the importance of unfettered intercourse in the sphere of commerce. In 1527 he wrote to the Mayor of Calais, ordering him to proclaim an ordinance, the object of which was to facilitate the access of merchants to Calais, so that the town might compete with the fairs of Anvers and Bruges. It also revived certain old regulations. Its excellent principles are well set forth in the preamble: "Our Soveraigne Lord mynding and entending the welth, encrease, and enriching of his realme of England and of this his town of

Callis and the marches of the same frely geveth and granteth full libertie and license and also ordeyneth and determeneth that as well all and singular his subjects and merchauntes and occupiers of all manners of wares and merchaundises and also all other merchauntes strangers, of what nation or country soever they be, that they and every one of them from henceforth shall nowe resort and repair from time to time with their goods etc unto this his town of Callis and marches of the same and there to buy and sell, change and rechange, with as large and ample freedom, liberties and immunyties as they have had and enjoyed att or in any mart or marts holden and kept at Andwerp, Bruges and Barowe. . . ."

No heavier taxes were to be levied on foreigners than the Emperor levied on Englishmen. Protection was given them " to occupy and exercise the feats of merchandise," and they were exempt from hedmoney halfe-passage money, traversmoney, sandgelt, wharfgelt, and Flemish toll or brocage of the haven. Trade was to be as free in Calais as in the Low Countries. But since Calais was a garrison town, foreigners must come unarmed, and conform to regulations. To prevent extortion, tablets were to be made, showing what customs ought to be paid on each article of produce or manufacture, and exhibited in the market-place and Royal Exchequer. If an officer tried to raise a sum more than the tariff allowed, he was liable to imprisonment or fine, at the King's pleasure. The Governors of the Merchant Adventurers were to have the same powers at Calais as in the Low Countries. They had cognizance of all actions brought by members of their society, and decided without appeal cases concerning their branch of commerce. The Staplers had a similar jurisdiction in their own line. The traders of the Hanseatic League of

France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, must give sufficient guarantee that they would not sell in Flanders any English merchandise bought at Calais.

Whether the commercial history of Calais be used by modern political economists as an argument for Protection, or whether it seems a more appropriate illustration of the benefits of Free Trade, undoubtedly the policy of the English Kings conduced to the prosperity of Calais and its inhabitants. The wealth of Calais merchants steadily increased, until the various concomitant causes which we have mentioned brought about the gradual decline of the Staple. As early as 1379 it was remarked at a meeting of the Privy Council that the presence of the Staple at Calais had had a wonderful effect on the prosperity of the place.[1] In Edward IV.'s reign the merchants were so rich that, on being appealed to by the Deputy, the Earl of Warwick, they advanced £18,000 to the Treasury; besides this, they frequently placed vessels at the disposal of the Crown. In 1450 John Felde, a member of the Guild of Woolstaplers, lent Henry VI. £2,000 for the payment of the wages of Calais officials. A letter from Lowes Lyneham, Felde's agent, written from Calais in 1465, states that he is shipping "3 barrels of March beer, a pot of butter and a little quiver with shooting tackle for the King," thus illustrating the prominent social position of a Calais merchant's bedeman. The Earls of Pomfret were the descendants of Richard Ferman, a merchant of the Staple in Henry VII.'s time.

Coinage was always an object of solicitude on the part of the Kings. It was obviously to be expected that the multitudes of traders from various countries who repaired thither would introduce every sort of coin. It was

[1] P. of P. C., vol. iii., p. 203A.

therefore necessary to insure that English merchants should not suffer from debasement of the coinage owing to the admission of bad money. Several ordinances on this point were issued by Edward III., and in 1487 Richard II., finding that all sorts of coins were current in Calais, addressed a writ to the Lieutenant and Mayors of Calais, enforcing the old ordinances of counting the pieces which might be legally tendered. One of the Duke of Burgundy's arguments to induce the Flemish burgesses to aid him in his grand attack on Calais had been the fact that the English refused to accept their money.

Calais had its own mint, whence both gold and silver coins were issued; it was presided over by an officer named Controller of the Mint.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

THE first problem that confronted Edward III. when once the town of Calais was in his hands was that of population. Was it to remain French, or should Calais become an English town? Edward seems to have made up his mind at once that it must be entirely English. The former inhabitants had been sent away by the French during the siege; they for the most part took refuge at St. Omer, and never returned. By a provisional ordinance of 1347, Edward decreed that all the former inhabitants were to be banished "pour peril qui eut pourroit avenir." Sir Walter Manny and the two Marshals, the Earls of Warwick and Stafford, had already been commissioned to take possession of the town, and put in prison all knights found there, and also all soldiers who only came to Calais to obtain a living. Such undesirables, as well as all other men, women, and children, must be kept away from the town, "for I wolle repeople agayne the towne with pure Englysshemen." So complete was the clearance that "they kept there no new persons but a preest and other auncyent personages such as knewe the customes, lawes and ordynaunces of the towne and to signe out the herytages howe they were devyded."

It may be taken for granted that there were many exemptions allowed from the provisions of these harsh measures. Anyone who was useful from his knowledge

of past customs would be retained, while exceptions were made in favour of those "qui ont especiale congé du Roy a y demorer." Yet the ordinance of 1347 was so far carried out that Edward had to provide for the repopulating of the city. He brought over from London "36 burgesses ryche and sage," with their families. By promising lands, dwellings, and privileges, he encouraged others to follow, until the numbers soon mounted to 300.[1] He also increased the buildings of the town, and founded the Hospitals of St. Nicholas at Calais and that of St. James at Newenham. In order to encourage persons of distinction to settle at Calais, he gave leave to Robert Offord, Count of Suffolk, and to Adam de Bury, to build a house and garden there, although he had already granted many "fair houses" to Sir Walter Manny, the Earl of Warwick, and Lord Ralph Stafford, and other lords.

Indeed, the question of population is closely connected with the ownership of land, for Edward III. set the example, which his successors followed, of keeping the greater part of the territory of Calais as part of the royal domain, in order that only persons loyal to English rule might obtain positions of influence. Thus, to take a few random illustrations—for they abound—we find that in 1413 Henry V. granted the land between the town and harbour of Calais to John Mulsho. In 1451 Henry VI. granted the lands of Balingham to William Pyrton and his wife, while in 1486 mention is made of a grant to Humfrey Talbot, knight, of a house in the town of Calais, in which "John Scotte lately dwelt," to hold the same during the minority of Edward, Earl of Warwick: the said house to be kept well

[1] P. Bernard, "Annales de Calais et du Pays de Calais," p. 193. St. Omer, 1715.

repaired. In the same year one Commission was appointed to find out by jury the extent of the property of the house in Calais and the district, and another to take possession of it. Fiefs situated in the town and held directly of the King returned to him when the owners died, or when none of those having rights claimed them immediately. The result was that heirs who were absent at the time of the owner's decease found themselves without redress. To remedy this, Edward III. decided in 1358 that when the owners died, the Baillies and Échevins should have charge for a year of houses held by fee simple, and hand them over to the heirs if they appeared during the interval. If the houses were unclaimed during the year, they returned to the royal domain. After 1363 this duty devolved on the Mayors and Aldermen. It often happened, in spite of this measure, that sites, whether built on or not, which belonged to the Sovereign or his lieges remained unoccupied, with the result that municipal expenses—especially the duty of the watch—weighed heavily upon the rest. Complaints were made to Edward III. and Henry VI. regarding this, and both Kings promised that such vacant fiefs should be distributed to Englishmen, on the advice of the Captain, Treasurer, and Bailiff of taxes.

Naturally, the King delegated the superintendence of the royal domain to men on the spot. In 1350 Thomas Kingeston, the Commander of the Castle of Calais, seems to have exercised these duties. His orders were to superintend the King's domains, collect crops and rent, receive royal dues, give investiture of farms, and receive homage on the Sovereign's behalf. At other times the Seneschal appears in an almost identical position, keeping up the King's *harengerasche* houses, and superintending the lands, revenues, and produce appertaining

to them. Later on, however, these duties were performed by the Treasurer, for in 1422 the Privy Council ordered the Treasurer of Calais to exercise the same powers of letting lands and houses as former Treasurers had done.[1]

Though the Municipality were responsible generally for the town being in good repair, especially during the Tudor period, the upkeep of houses was left to be carried out by the owners, and was rigidly enforced. Between the years 1516 and 1520, for instance, Wolsey received a letter signed by four residents of Calais, appending a list of landowners at Calais whose houses were in decay. The list included the Duke of Buckingham and the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, and Kent. A proclamation was accordingly issued that decayed houses at Calais must be repaired by the owners, under pain of forfeiture.

Closely connected with the problem of population was the problem of food-supply. From every point of view —military as well as economic—the victualling of Calais was a continual bugbear to those responsible for its maintenance in English hands. Practically everything had to be transported from England. It is true that the district round about Guisnes, Marc, and Hammes was fertile enough, but in time of war it was liable to incursions by the enemy; while any reliance on French territory as a source of food-supply was dangerous, owing to the almost continuous skirmishing which took place along the border. Nearly every requisite, then, had to be brought from England, and this applies, as will be seen, not only to food, but to timber, agricultural implements, and coal.[2]

[1] Minutes of Privy Council, February, 1422.

[2] In war-time, if the French pirates were active, the problem became serious. Thus, in 1522 Lord Berners wrote to Henry VIII. complaining that many ships, laden with wood

All the Kings of England recognized the importance of this problem. At the very beginning of the English occupation Edward III. offered advantages to those who provided victuals for Calais, and exempted from all dues foreign fishermen and merchants who brought in provisions, whether by land or sea. In 1362 he sent over corn, and in 1377 ordered the town to be re-victualled. In 1393, in order to insure against a lack of provisions, Calais was given the right to the produce of the Island of Thanet; and in 1437 an ordinance was issued providing that wheat, malt, barley, oats, and oatmeal should be purchased in Kent, and conveyed to Sandwich for Calais; 300,000 billets were also to be provided. Gradually the practice grew up of making certain persons, who were given the title of Victualler and Purveyor, responsible for the proper provisioning of the town. Thus, in 1412 the Council ordered that the Victuallers of Calais should come before it, and account for the sums received and expended by them.[1] In March, 1486, a grant was made "during pleasure to William Rosse esquire of the office of purveyor of the kings victuals, stuffs artillery and habiliments of war provided for the defence of the town of Calais and the towns castles and fortalices in those parts, with wages of 2s. a day for himself"; while in July of the same year Henry VII. announced that "we for the weale and profitte of subjects within the pale and marches of Calais owing to the increase of ploughs and carts have licensed our well beloved Thomas Better of that town to ship over sixty mares for carrying in the harvest."[2]

and coal, had been captured, both before and after the outbreak of war, and that in consequence shipowners refused to risk their vessels in running cargoes, in spite of lavish offers.

[1] Proceedings of Privy Council, October, 1412.

[2] "Materials illustrative of Reign of Henry VII.," July 15, 1486.

Again, in 1522 a proclamation was issued in London ordering all persons having the King's protection for victualling the town of Calais speedily to send victuals thither on pain of forfeiting their protection ; also, any others who provided food for the army were for the time being let off all customs to which that food was liable. In the following year William Cantelupe, Victualler of Calais, is ordered to superintend " the great reparacions that most of necessities in alle haste be maad at Caleys and in the marches there."[1]

The royal authority at Calais rested, of course, in the hands of the Captain, Seneschal, and Marshal, and had little to do with purely municipal arrangements, which were left to the civilian population. Edward III. lost no time in announcing that he proposed to leave the ancient customs and franchises in force. This was not quite accurately carried out. By the charter of Countess Mahaut of Artois two sorts of magistrates were recognized—Échevins and Cormans. The former looked after police and upkeep of streets and roads, and had some secondary judicial powers.[2] The functions of the latter were chiefly judicial. But after the English conquest the Cormans disappear, judicial duties now being confined to the King's officers, while the functions of the Échevins were henceforth limited to the administration of the city. Their number remained fixed at thirteen. Edward also made a slight modification in the method of their election. Formerly the outgoing

[1] On their arrival, provisions were stored away in the houses of different inhabitants. *Cf.* Harleian Manuscript 288, folio 54 (British Museum), for a list of places where corn and victuals delivered at Calais were stored : " Snowdon's wool-house, Peter Howell's in Chequers Street, the King's Loft over the Bootes, in Mistress Mysshawe's hands," etc.

[2] Bréquigny, " Memoirs de l'Académie des Inscriptions," vol. xliii., p. 738 *et seq.*

magistrates, before quitting office, chose five successors, who co-opted their eight colleagues. Edward continued the same form of election, but stipulated that the Captain, Marshal, and Seneschal should appoint five inhabitants "des plus suffisanty de la ville," who should co-opt eight of their fellow-citizens. Soon, however, the rising prosperity of Calais, and the increasing number of rich merchants who took up their abode there, induced Edward to entrust the administration of the town to the merchants instead of to the Échevins. This change was carried out by the well-known ordinance of March 1, 1363. Henceforth the municipal government was to be in the hands of twenty-six English merchants—two Mayors and twenty-four Aldermen. Every year at the Feast of Annunciation this body was to elect the two Mayors for the ensuing year, who had to take an oath in the presence of the Aldermen that they would fulfil their office faithfully. No Mayor could hold office twice, even if re-elected. If one of the two Mayors failed in his duty, and the fact was proved, he must be deposed, and another of English nationality, and residing either in England or Calais, appointed in his place. The same provision applied in case of death. For the first election Edward reserved to himself all the nominations, but for the future the retiring officials were to elect their successors. The King abandoned to the newly formed Corporation all lands, tenures, rents, escheats, forfeits, exchange of money, produce of fairs and markets, and franchises, which he possessed in Calais, except a rent of 500 marks. He also gave them power to establish an assize in the district when necessary, to appoint and dismiss the Baillie and other officers of the port, and to give licences to keepers of hostelries and to sellers of victuals, provided they were English.

No one could be a burgess unless admitted by the Mayor and Aldermen.

This arrangement had the obvious defect of confusing the organization of the town and Staple, and resulted in endless quarrels. In the very same year as the ordinance was issued Edward was obliged to order Henry le Scrope, Governor of Calais, and Thomas de Brantyngham, the Treasurer, to assemble the contending parties, and force them to come to an agreement. But matters did not improve, and the burgesses still complained of maladministration. In 1364 the King commissioned the Governor and Treasurer, Adam Franceys, William de Hanle, Adam de Bury, and John Pyal, to find out "qui se porroait pleindre de grevance torts, erreurs, trespassey et excesses forty" at Calais. They reported that the Mayors and Aldermen sought only their own interests, neglecting those of the King and the community. They were wont to raise taxes for their own profit, place excessive burdens on merchandise, make vexatious regulations, and even practise actual extortion. They, moreover, authorized foreigners to keep inns in the town, and the Commissioners added that the prosperity and reputation of Calais was so declining that, unless matters were adjusted, all merchants, both English and foreign, would take their departure. They begged to be excused from fixing either the responsibility or the amount of damages caused by this mismanagement. The issue is unknown, but apparently those accused paid for being let off, for in the same year Edward released the Mayors and Alderman of Calais from all suits to which they were liable for this conduct on payment of £600.[1] The causes of all this disorganization are fairly obvious.

[1] R. O. F. R., 31, M. 8, 38 E. III.; 32, M. 4, 39 E. III.

There was antagonism between the two Mayors; the municipal offices were far too numerous, and their holders exercised functions comprising commerce as well as the sphere of ordinary civil life.

In 1365 Edward made a courageous attempt to remedy matters. Henceforth there were to be two Mayors—one of the town, the other of the Staple. The Mayor of the town was to superintend the city, harbour, and district, and to control the accounts of the Treasurer. He was to have under him eight men-at-arms for the "serche-watch," and for the wages and expenses of the police was granted the sum of £200 a year. The Aldermen, now reduced to twelve, were to aid the Mayor in his duties. One of them, with the title of Marshal, maintained a "valet," whose duty it was to warn and summon those burgesses who were appointed for watches. For his expenses he was given £20. Another was Water-Bailiff. His "valet" had charge of the High Tower. This Alderman also received £20. Of the other twelve, six were merchants of note, while the other four were well-to-do burgesses. The former received £50, the latter £40, a year; but each had to maintain six men, properly armed, for the "serche-watch." The King appointed the Mayor, Aldermen, and such lesser functionaries as the Recorder of the town, the clerk, two sergeants, twenty-three valets, and a crier; but the Municipality had the right of replacing the latter in case of incapacity or decease. There was no longer any question of election. The Mayor was usually appointed for a year, and was sometimes continued in his post, as in the case of Richard de Poweston and Adam de Bury. Moreover, the revenues, which had been handed over to the Municipality, except a sum of 500 marks, were resumed by the Crown.

These rapid changes in organization seem to have given rise to an extraordinary and somewhat inexplicable confusion of ideas at Calais, for in April, 1376, there was a curious petition from the burgesses of Calais, which, after demanding the reduction of the Mayor's wages from £200 to £100, proceeded to ask for a Mayor and twelve Aldermen instead of a Baillie, Échevins, and Cormans.[1] The latter had already been abolished for more than ten years!

The gist of the petition was, evidently, liberty in municipal elections,[2] and to this Edward agreed on condition that only Englishmen should be chosen. A long ordinance[3] of July 23, 1376, republished in October of the same year, and confirmed by Richard II., regulated the new order of things. The Mayor and Aldermen were to be chosen annually from among the burgesses. The Aldermen must take an oath to the King before entering on their functions. They were then to appoint a Mayor, who must also take an oath before the Captain or someone else designated by the Sovereign. The Corporation were to have charge of the paving and cleaning of streets, the upkeep of streams and fountains, and the removal of refuse and ordure, the expenses of which were defrayed by a grant made to them of the assize of wine, bread, and beer; the rights of "picage" in the Marches, and all profits made in the courts of the Mayor and Aldermen. The King reserved to himself houses, all fines paid for assault, shedding of blood, escheats, and confiscated goods.

Municipal office was not always eagerly sought after, but as a rule it was obligatory, and might not be avoided. In 1382, for instance, an injunction by

[1] R. of P., vol. iii., p. 358 *et seq.*

[2] Georges Daumet, "Calais sur la domination Anglaise," p. 76. Arras, 1902.

[3] 50 E. III., 1377.

Richard II. not to appoint John Ettyng to be Mayor or Alderman of Calais against his will shows that this was an unusual exemption. Sometimes people absented themselves from elections in the hope of not being elected. Thus, in 1395 Richard II. ordered the Aldermen to recall by letter anyone chosen Mayor in his absence, since it was dangerous for a frontier town to remain long without its first magistrate.

Apparently no further alteration was made in the municipal organization of Calais after 1376.[1] Indeed, the chief interest of municipal history after that date is connected with the squabbles between the Mayors of the town and the Staple. In 1392 Richard II., having refused all French demands for the dismantling of Calais, and in consequence desiring to stimulate the loyalty of the inhabitants, allowed the Mayor to be preceded by a mace and mace-bearer,[2] as well as by a guard carrying a drawn sword, the point to be carried in the air, save in the presence of the King or Lord-Deputy. Edward IV., following this precedent, allowed the Mayor of the town to have a sword carried before him within the limits of his jurisdiction. This harmless compliment caused many searchings of burgess hearts. John Hall, the pompous Mayor of the town, took it to mean that he was given precedence over the Mayor of the Staple, who was preceded merely by a little ring. The Mayor of the Staple thought otherwise, and there were constant bickerings. The Earl of Warwick, Captain of Calais,

[1] Sir Robert Wingfield, when Deputy, seems to have made an effort, in 1526, acting on instructions from England, to remodel the municipal constitution by admitting into it those military officers who supervised the defences of the town. But great dissatisfaction was aroused, and a Commission was appointed in 1533 to decide the point.

[2] Dillon, " Calais and the Pale," *Archæologia*, vol. liii., p. 327.

even the King himself, were obliged to intervene. Warwick appointed an inquest, composed of authorities on ancient customs, who came to the conclusion that the Mayor of the Staple took precedence in procession and ceremonies. Warwick, accordingly, sent for John Thryske, with the members of the Staple, and John Hall, with his Aldermen, and announced that in future the Mayor of the Staple must have precedence; if the two Mayors met in public, each must walk straight on, without keeping to the pavement or yielding ground. If this ruling did not satisfy them, they must appeal to the King. Edward IV., in upholding this decision, stated that the right to a sword was not meant to confer precedence. The Mayor of the Staple was only to yield place to the Mayor of the town when the latter rendered justice, or caused a sentence to be executed. The friction ended for the moment, but in the sixteenth century, at any rate, the flame of municipal discord flickered forth afresh; and in a letter written by four inhabitants of Calais to Wolsey between 1516 and 1520, mention is made of the squabbles between the two Mayors, "the which controversy . . . hath caused within the town intranquility and disease."

The obligations of the Municipality were, as we have seen, practically identical with those of a modern London County Council. To pay for expenses connected with the upkeep of the town, the Mayors and Aldermen were allowed to institute an "Assize . . . come bon semble que mestier sera," and received all royal revenues except 500 marks. In addition to these funds, they received "attachiamenta, aresta, et execuciones" levied on the goods of those who omitted to pay their taxes, and where merchandise could in consequence be sold for the benefit of the town purse.

The duties of the Municipality were not always satisfactorily carried out. In 1389, and again in 1441, Richard II. and Henry VI. respectively had to write to all the authorities of Calais—namely, the Captain, Treasurer, Mayor of the Staple, and Mayor of the town—bidding them force the soldiers and inhabitants to remove refuse and ordure outside the walls, instead of throwing them into the streets—a practice which corrupted the air and endangered the public health. This order was to be proclaimed in the various parts of the city. Billeting and the upkeep of private houses fell more especially on individual burgesses, and caused much grumbling. The former was not only onerous in time of war, for the Lord Chamberlain had power to billet off houses on occasions of royal visits, as in 1532, when Henry VIII. came over to meet Francis I. As regards the keeping of houses in repair, some Kings were much more interfering than others. Henry V., for instance, used to issue most minute regulations, and in 1413 it was enacted that all houses were to be roofed either with tiles or slates.[1] In 1535 Henry VIII. ordered an inquest on the streets of the town to be carried out by five Commissioners, who were to report on the following points: whether the prescribed number of servants were maintained, and whether the laws were observed, and the guards and rounds performed correctly. The Commission found that the authorities had been wanting in vigilance, and that such disorder reigned as "to wound the heart of every good Englishman." The sequel is unknown.

In the famous ordinance of 1363 Edward III. had

[1] "In a sketch of Calais made in 1436 many tiled roofs are shown, thus proving the gradual compliance of the inhabitants with this order" (Rouse, "Life of Richard, Earl of Warwick," *circa* 1487. Cottonian Manuscript Julius, E. IV., British Museum).

taken measures to prevent the inhabitants taking advantage of the number of people requiring houses to raise the price unduly. The Governor and Treasurer and other authorities were to fix a price for each house, which must not be exceeded. They were also ordered to take possession in the King's name of abandoned or empty properties, and let them out to farm to those who wanted them. Moreover, a proclamation was issued at the same date in several counties that those who had houses or sites at Calais should repair thither themselves, or send representatives, within forty days, to show their titles of ownership; all edifices were to be kept in good condition under pain of confiscation; and those who wished to settle in the city must appear there before the Feast of St. Michael to receive the buildings and lands which were distributed to them free of rent.

If the burgesses of Calais had their burdens, they also had numerous privileges to compensate them. So far as the first period of the English occupation is concerned, we are, unfortunately, ignorant of the conditions required for becoming a burgess of Calais. It is certain, however, that the burgesses were exceedingly jealous of any extension of their numbers, and that, on the whole, the Sovereign humoured them. At first Edward III. reserved to himself the right of letting those whom he thought fit reside at Calais, but in 1363 this right was conferred on the two Mayors and Aldermen. As, however, there is no mention of the privileges being exercised by the municipal authorities, either in 1365 or 1376, it seems probable that Edward subsequently resumed it. As to foreigners, Edward adopted the same system: none might become burgesses unless by the permission of himself or his successors. In 1376 the inhabitants of

Calais besought Edward not to confer this favour on anybody, but the demand was refused.[1]

The question of foreigners was always arising at Calais. It is obvious that in a garrison town a large number of them were undesirable, and that strict surveillance of their movements was necessary. Hence the careful regulations observed as to closing of gates during herring-time, and the lodging of strangers in the town: keepers of hostelries and lodging-houses were sworn to report daily on the number and quality of their guests. The Kings and the Municipality do not seem to have always realized the permanent importance, apart from the selfish prejudice of the burgesses, of excluding foreigners from Calais. Only a burgess, for instance, was allowed to hold a position at Court or to sell victuals; yet in 1364 a report drawn up on the municipal administration stated that, owing to the culpable tolerance of the Mayor and Aldermen, a number of foreigners of various nations were keepers of hostelries—"à très grandes damages et perilles de ville, des burgies, marchaunty et marchandises dedeint recieux." Richard II. removed his predecessors' prohibitions as to foreigners in 1382. Nevertheless, succeeding Kings appear to have deviated from this course, and to have allowed foreigners as a special favour to establish themselves at Calais. At last, in 1413, Henry V., in answer to a complaint, decided that henceforth no one should enjoy the privileges and franchises accorded to the inhabitants of Calais, or could be an innkeeper or publican, unless he were a burgess, and that any foreigner establishing himself at Calais, or quitting it after settling there, must pay a tax equivalent to one-fifteenth of his possessions. In 1533 Henry VIII. renewed the regulation regarding

[1] R. of P., vol. ii., p. 358 *et seq.*

keepers of hostelries, and made minute ordinances for the surveillance of foreigners.

Besides their protection from foreign competition, the burgesses had many other more direct privileges. Edward III. had very early granted immunity from all duties to those bringing provisions and merchandise to the town. In 1348 he proclaimed that burgesses who had their names inscribed on the municipal registers should have exemption for three years from every tax levied in England, provided that, under pain of forfeiture, they did not declare that goods belonging to others were their own. The ordinance of 1363 gave them many privileges. They might buy freely throughout the kingdom horses, oxen, sheep, and pigs, as well as such eatables and merchandise as they needed, and transport them to the city without paying toll and custom, so long as these were not sold outside Calais. In 1383 Richard II. similarly exempted the burgesses, while the war lasted with France, from taxes levied on provisions, firewood, building materials, plaster, and tiles, which were brought into the town, provided they used them themselves, and did not sell them. They were assimilated entirely to the citizens of London. Their possessions in England were placed under the protection of the King, and they and their successors were immune from rights of "picage, pontage, pavage, munage, dicage, wharfage, and lastage." They could acquire in fee simple or entail, or even for life, land tenures and rents in the town and district. Any of them could freely dispose of it or alienate it by will, but only to Englishmen ; every donation or bequest to a foreigner was null and void, and any land and rents concerned fell to the Mayor and Aldermen for the common profit. Lands, tenures, and rents abandoned to Mortmain Corporation

also became common property. Heirs born in Calais received land with the same title as English heirs, and similarly those who while living in England received lands in Calais. The order of succession was fixed by English law. In 1376 the burgesses demanded the right of " vaine pasture," but not until 1440 did they obtain it, Henry VI. granting them the right between Calais and Sangate on one side and Calais and Wele on the other. Another source of windfalls for the public purse were flotsam and jetsam which escheated on the shore. For a year and a day they were to be held at the disposition of their proprietors ; if no one appeared or furnished proof of his right, the objects thrown up by the sea devolved upon the commonalty.

These various privileges were confirmed and continued by successive Kings—by Edward IV. in 1462, by Richard III. in 1484, and by Henry VII. in 1487 —and probably remained in force till the end of the English occupation.

Calais did not obtain representation in Parliament until 1536, though a Parliament of the previous year had decided in favour of the privilege. On May 14 Lord Audley, the Chancellor, wrote to Lord Lisle, the Deputy, informing him that Calais was henceforth to have two delegates in Parliament—one chosen by the Mayor and commonalty of the burgesses, the other by the Deputy and Council. But this number was not adhered to. It seems that even in 1536 four deputies attended Parliament for the purpose of arranging the successor to the throne ; in 1545 two deputies are mentioned, while in 1554 only one represented the town.

THE CHURCH

THE parish church of Calais was that of Notre Dame, but there were several other churches, such as St. Nicholas, St. Peter, and St. Mary. The Pope was, of course, the ecclesiastical head of Calais, and exerted his authority as elsewhere. In 1378, for instance, Urban VI. issued a Bull exhorting the inhabitants of Calais not to support the Anti-Pope, and bidding them send all rightful dues to him, rendering account of what had been spent in the necessary service of the Church.[1] Under the old arrangements, the Bishop of Terouanne seems, next to the Pope, to have been the spiritual head of the district of Calais; and this continued under the English rule until December, 1379, when a Bull of Urban VI. put Calais under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Henceforth it was to him that the Kings of England presented candidates whom they wished to nominate to benefices at Calais. This arrangement seems to have been loyally adhered to by successive Sovereigns, all of whom—even Henry V., who was especially favourable to the Church at Calais—reserved to themselves the right of nomination, while leaving the actual installation to the Archbishop. Thus, in November, 1414, the Chantry of St. Nicholas, becoming vacant, was filled in this manner, and in 1426 the post of Curé of Notre Dame.

[1] Demotier, "Annales de Calais depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours," p. 67.

Henry VI. pursued the same course in 1442 in presenting to the vacant Cure of Balingham, and in 1446 to that of Escale. An instance also occurs in 1550, when Edward VI. presented William Marsh as Curé of he parish of St. Peter. Mary kept up the custom, and in January, 1557, presented Robert Hill to Cardinal Pole for the Curé of Sangate. In this connection it may be mentioned, for the benefit of those who regard Mary Tudor as a hopeless bigot, that she only replaced two of the Protestant Curés of Calais by Catholics, the rest being retained in their posts.

When Edward III. decreed the exile of all the old inhabitants, the clergy were not excepted, and two priests had to be nominated to carry on the duties of the banished Curés. Yet, on the whole, the rights of the Church were duly observed. The Treaty of Bretigny stipulated that Church lands should be the only lands not included in the King's domain, and that churches in France with possessions in the districts now subject to England should remain their proprietors. Consequently we find rents being collected at Calais by the Carthusian monastery of St. Omer and by the Abbey of Boulogne. In November, 1363, Edward III. ordered the Mayors and Aldermen of the town to give the delegates of these communities every facility for obtaining the revenues belonging to them.[1] It is, however, unknown whether they continued to enjoy their rights. In 1394 Richard II. ordained that the monks of Guisnes should receive back all the lands taken from them in England and in the county of Guisnes ; while Edward IV., finding that the tithes of the churches were sometimes given to laymen by way of reward, stopped the practice, and ordered them to be restored.

[1] R. O. F. R., 30, M. 4, 37 E. III.

Perhaps the most famous religious institution at Calais was the convent of the Carmelites. Edward III. turned out the French monks and substituted Englishmen of the same Order. Though now composed of Englishmen, the Carmelite monastery remained, as of old, under the jurisdiction of the Visitor of Narbonne—an arrangement which still existed in Tudor times, for in 1516 Henry VIII. gave permission to the Visitor of Narbonne to enter Calais. For a time, owing to their poverty, their position was extremely precarious, and in December, 1351, the King had to grant them "20 marcs' worth of pounds in auxilium sustentacionis." In Richard II.'s time the religious Orders appear to have been again in a deplorable state, judging from the condition of the abbeys. That of De la Capelle had been in ruins since 1346, that of Ardres no longer existed, while the Abbey of Licques barely sustained itself. Richard II. allowed the Carmelites to add to their garden and buildings in 1377, and also granted them a pension of twenty marks a year.

A further addition to their garden was allowed in 1397. Henry IV. and Henry V. both confirmed the pension and all privileges, and although in 1452 Parliament abolished the pension, the monks, on appeal to Henry VI., obtained its renewal in the following year. Edward IV. seems to have had every intention of continuing this yearly gift, and even made regulations for the date of payment, but so empty was the Treasury that the monks received nothing. They subsequently produced their Letters Patent before the Chancellor, and again petitioned the King, who promised to pay arrears. On December 3, 1485, the following ordinance[1] was issued: "Grant to the prior and monastery of the Friars

[1] P. of P. C., 1485.

Carmelite within the town of Caleys of an annuity of twenty marks out of the issues etc. of the town of Caleys" (the king's progenitors from Edward III. downwards having allowed them that sum towards their help and support and for divine service to be performed there); and in March, 1487, it was arranged that, for the future, the pension was to be put aside from the money assigned for the payment of the Lieutenant and soldiers of the Calais garrison.[1]

There were other religious organizations which played an important part in the spiritual side of Calais life. Edward IV. founded a pious association, whose object was "to praise, glorify, and honour the holy and indivisible Trinity and the very glorious Virgin Mary." It was composed of both men and women resident at Calais, and presided over by four guardians. In August, 1480, the King gave them various privileges. They were to be entitled to justice in the law-courts, and to be exempted from all regulations as to Mortmain. The four guardians were to be elected annually by the members, and had power to make statutes without hindrance from the Sovereign or his officers. The association had to maintain a chaplain to celebrate Mass daily in the Chapel of the Trinity and the Church of Notre Dame, according to the wish of Edward IV., his wife, Elizabeth, and the members of the association and their benefactors. This society, whose functions are rather obscure, was probably not a regular congregation, but

[1] After the Reformation this pension appears to have been withdrawn, for in the list of the expenses of the garrison of Calais in 1533 mention is made of a sum of £6 13s. 4d., described as "the annuity or pension some tyme paide to the Fryars Carmelites, and now graunted to my lorde Lisle, deputie" ("Chronicle of Calais," p. 139. Camden Series; edited by J. G. Nichols).

a brotherhood for the purpose of prayer and good works.

More famous were the two hospitals of St. Nicholas and St. James—the former within the city, the latter outside the walls. They were both founded by Edward III. Both were under the patronage of the Sovereign, who interfered in their administration when he thought fit. Thus, in 1437 Henry VI., learning that great disorder prevailed in these establishments, and that, owing to the negligence of those in authority, property had been stolen, priestly robes belonging to the chapels destroyed or dispersed, buildings allowed to go to ruins, and the poor sick vagrants and lepers[1] refused admittance, ordered a Commission of seven to make minute inquiries, and draw up a report.[2] In 1408, as a consequence, the administration of both hospitals was placed in the hands of the Municipality. In 1445 Henry VI. discovered fresh irregularities, and appointed a Commission of three—namely, the Duke of Buckingham, the Captain of Calais, and his esquire—to inspect the establishment of St. Nicholas and examine the accounts. The accounts were drawn up by the Curé of St. Nicholas and Sadynfield.[3]

The Sovereign occasionally bestowed exceptional favours by way of charity, in addition to those privileges conferred on organized religious associations. Thus, in 1449 Henry VI. gave William Kilburne, Rector of St. Médard of Oye, all the tithes of that land, on condition that he prayed for Edward III. and those English nobles who were killed at the siege of Calais and buried in that church; and in 1487 Richard III. made a grant, dated from Kenilworth, July 1, "in the way of charity,"

[1] Lepers were only admitted to the Hospital of St. James.
[2] R. O. F. R., 74, M. 15, 8 H. IV.
[3] *Ibid.*, 111, M. 3, 23 H. VI.

to "Frere William Mason of the fre chapell of St. Clement, standing withoute the watergate of our towne of Caleys beside Paradise."

Probably these various religious institutions were suppressed at the time of the Reformation, but singularly little is known as to how that movement was accomplished at Calais. Apathy fell upon religion at Calais in the third decade of the sixteenth century.[1] In 1532, out of twenty-six clergy belonging to the town and Pale, thirteen were absent, and of the rest, four, being royal chaplains and one chaplain to the Chamberlain, were consequently also absentees[2]; while in 1537 the Deputy in Council reported to the Bishops of Bath, Chichester, and Norwich that Mass and Offices were deserted, and that out of 1,700 parishioners only ten or twelve attended service at Notre Dame. There is little doubt that at this period Calais was in a most disturbed state. The new doctrines were badly received. In 1539 Sir John Butler, Commissary of Calais and the Marches, was arrested, together with Thomas Broke, "customer" of the port, and sent to the fleet for religious reasons, in addition to which Sir John had used "intemperate language and misbehaviour towards the Lord Deputy." In the same year Turpyn mentions in his diary that two persons, named Peterson and Richardson, were brought over to Calais, having been condemned for a Popish conspiracy. A pair of gallows was erected in the market-place, and the two culprits were first drawn from Watergate Street, through Castle

[1] Even as early as 1518 the clergy of Calais seem to have lacked funds. In that year, the steeple of St. Nicholas being in bad repair, permission was given to the churchwardens to make a begging excursion to England. The reason alleged for urgency was that the steeple acted as a beacon for mariners. This permission was extended to three years.

[2] Dillon, "Calais and the Pale," *Archæologia*, vol. liii., p. 20.

Street, and so round the market-place, after which they were hanged, their hands and quarters being fixed to the various towers and gates. Yet "religious schisms continued to trouble the peace of the community," and a priest named Ralph Hares and Sir William Smith made every effort to prevent the population adhering to the doctrines of the Reformation. The circumstances attending the recall of Lord Lisle are an admirable commentary on the disorders prevalent in Calais. Hares and Smith had been implicated, and Adam Damplip and George Bowker, Papist agents, had been in correspondence with the Deputy. A Commission, including the Earl of Sussex, Sir John Gage, and others, seems to have proved beyond doubt the Papist tendencies of Lisle and his wife. Mary made only a very mild attempt to restore the Catholic religion,[1] and the ecclesiastical affairs of Calais probably remained in a more or less transitional stage until its recapture by the French in 1558.

[1] Almost the only instance of reaction is the permission given by Mary in 1553 to some Dominican nuns from Terouanne to come and reside in Calais.

JUSTICE

NOTHING is more difficult in dealing with the history of Calais than to discover the machinery of the law and how it worked. The evidence necessary for gaining information on the subject is just what Privy Council or Parliamentary records will not supply, while all records of suits and cases were probably destroyed when Calais was regained for France.

Before the English occupation the laws of Calais had been based on the ancient customs given to the inhabitants in 1252 by the Countess Mahaut of Boulogne, revoked by Robert II. of Artois, and restored by Countess Mahaut of Artois in 1304. These charters contained the rudiments of a Penal Code, and regulated the rights and reciprocal duties of the lord and the community. They were, however, silent on many points respecting the position of individuals, while marriage, wills, and successions were probably regulated by the customs of the county of Boulogne.[1] How far the ancient customs survived and how far English law took their place is a matter of conjecture. It is true that in 1347 Edward III., at Westminster, confirmed the ancient laws and customs; but it would seem that in 1363 the Judge was given the choice, for Edward III. ordered that all non-commercial affairs should be regu-

[1] Georges Daumet, "Calais sous la domination Anglaise," p. 103.

lated either according to local customs or the custom of the kingdom. Open succession, however, in Calais should devolve to the heirs, according to English usage.[1] In 1376 all suits having for their object land, tenures, or rents, were put under the same law. Yet in Richard II.'s reign we find that personal actions and those which concerned debts and contracts are again regulated by ancient customs.[2] It is reasonable to assume that the ancient usages gradually disappeared, and that the inhabitants, being English citizens, were inclined to abide by the customs of their own country.

Under the rule of the Counts of Artois justice was administered by the municipal magistrates, the Échevins and Cormans. The latter soon disappear altogether under the English régime, while the functions of the Échevins were much restricted and modified. About the year 1347 Edward III. issued an ordinance providing that all suits or claims arising between soldiers and civilians should be decided by the Marshal, Captain, and Seneschal, and that all differences between civilians should be dealt with by the Seneschal, who also had cognizance of "touy pleey de tenes et tenementy et de touy autres pleey roialx." The Échevins were only left with jurisdiction over offences in which foreigners were concerned.[3]

In 1349 three magistrates were nominated to administer justice, especially in respect to felonious offences. In 1363 the Échevins were replaced by two Mayors and twenty-four Aldermen forming a body, with functions comprising both commercial and ordinary administration. The King decided that its members

[1] Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. iii., part ii., p. 691. Edition, London, 1825.
[2] R. of P., vol. iii., p. 87.
[3] Rymer's "Fœdera," vol. iii., part ii., p. 639.

should appoint persons to have cognizance of debts, accounts, contracts, and contraventions of merchant law, and to deal justice in the case of crimes, felonies, wounds, and any breakings of the peace committed in the town and district according to local or English custom. Commercial and common law cases were alike assigned to their jurisdiction. In virtue of their office, the Mayor and Aldermen had power to order inquiries, to hear the parties, and give sentence, to receive recognizances of debts, and deliver on such occasions "lettres obligatoires," which had force throughout the whole kingdom. If any of their sentences were appealed against, the case must be investigated by a Commission composed of the Governor and Treasurer of Calais, the two Mayors, and two merchants chosen by the Corporation. This Commission met annually in March. Persons guilty of crime or felony committed at Calais or in the vicinity could be tried by the courts of that town, even if they had taken refuge in another part of the English possessions.

The obvious evils of a combination of the administration of the Municipality and the Staple in the same hands induced Edward in 1365 to effect a complete separation, by which it was arranged that the Mayor of the town was to have cognizance of all civil and criminal suits arising in Calais, while all differences concerning merchants and merchandise were henceforth to be adjusted by the Mayor and commonalty of the Staple. The Corporation were ordered to make ordinances for the good government of Calais, and, for the purpose of defraying the expense incurred, were given the assize of bread, wine, and beer, wholesale as well as retail.[1] The Mayor of the town was aided in his duties by twelve Aldermen, and Edward was evidently anxious that

[1] R. of P., vol. ii., p. 359A.

these should be men of good position and profession, for in August, 1367, he writes to the Captain of Calais enjoining that a certain William de Skamestone must choose between his profession of subordinate official of the Company of the Staple and his position of Alderman, since the latter office constituted him a judge and guardian of the laws.[1] Judging from the instructions given to Adam de Bury, Mayor and Captain of Balyngham, the profits and issues of the Mayor's Court were handed over to the Corporation.[2]

When, in 1376, the burgesses of Calais obtained the privilege of electing their municipal officers, these retained their judicial rights. All civil and criminal cases came before them, as well as those concerning land tenures and rents. It was recognized, however, that commercial cases belonged to the commonalty of the Staple, while disputes between soldiers were to be decided by the Captain, and quarrels between soldiers and civilians, both civil and criminal, were to be adjusted by the Captain and Mayor of the town in conjunction in the Mayor's Court. In 1379 Richard II. enacted that Judges at Calais should have supreme jurisdiction, without appeal to Parliament. Yet, curiously enough, in 1380 there was a petition from the burgesses to the King that in cases where an appeal was entered against a judgment rendered by the Mayor and Aldermen according to the laws and customs of the country, the King would appoint " bones et sages gens q'ont conissance des mesmes loix et usages," who, in the capacity of commissioners, should even have the power of redressing wrong judgments at Calais. Those inhabitants of Calais who wished to lodge an appeal would be forced,

[1] R. O. F. R., 34, M. 4, 41 E. III.
[2] R. of P., vol. ii., p. 330A.

from the necessity of crossing the Channel at peril of their lives, " si bien del aventure de meere come de lour enemys." Richard II. acceded to the request, and ruled that for cases decided according to local custom —namely, debts, contracts, and personal actions—Commissions, if found necessary, should be composed of those who were best acquainted with local custom. The expenses of such Commissions were to be paid by the litigants. Burgesses were not to be forced to come to England unless the King were interested in the case, or the dispute concerned lands and tenures, which required its treatment by English law.

Sometimes the English Council was called in to settle disputes. Thus, in 1431 John Reynevell, Mayor of the Staple, in a speech to the Council, states that the Commission appointed to decide between him and other members of the Staple had accomplished this task satisfactorily,[1] and in 1438 Lord Tiptoft and the Keeper of the Privy Seal were appointed to settle a dispute regarding certain goods taken at Calais.[2]

The wide control exerted by the Council in Tudor times[3] is illustrated in the history of justice at Calais by the vast increase in the powers of the Calais Court of Exchequer. This court had apparently been established during the fifteenth century for the purpose of trying cases connected with the treasure and revenues of the Kings of England. It sat at Calais and Guisnes. Little is known of it until Henry VIII. regulated its scope and functions by an ordinance of February 1, 1529, which, though specially applying to Guisnes, equally indicates the sphere of action of the Exchequer

[1] P. of P. C., April 28, 1431.

[2] *Ibid.*, May 16, 1438.

[3] *Vide* "The Privy Council under the Tudors," Stanhope Essay for 1906 (Lord Eustace Percy).

at Calais. It was a sovereign court of justice, composed of magistrates or commissioners, presided over by the Treasurer, Controller, and other officers. Henry VIII. gave its acts the force of law when sealed with his seal. The regulating ordinance of 1529 issued numerous directions regarding the district of Guisnes. The eldest male was to inherit lands, or, in default of males, the eldest daughter; lands were always to render the same tax to the Treasury, and each heir paid in proportion to the amount of land inherited. After the expiry of seventy years each owner must renew his title, for which he paid into the Exchequer a fourth part of the annual revenue of his land. There must be no intermarriage with foreigners without leave from the Court of Exchequer, and no foreigner might inherit land; all inhabitants must learn English, and an English name must be added to that given to a child at baptism. In war-time taxes were to be levied in proportion to the amount of land cultivated. It is laid down that boys come of age when seventeen, girls when fourteen, and that while under age persons and goods of minors are subject to the Governor and Commandant of Guisnes, as also were lunatics and incapables. Fathers, however, might name guardians, if approved of by the Exchequer. Owners of land must keep their houses and buildings in repair; corn was not to be exported, and no agreement might be made without passing through the Exchequer of Calais; all Acts had to be registered. Such were a few of the enormous powers of the Exchequer Court. It made laws and abrogated laws. All its Acts were signed with the King's seal and with the seals of the Mayor and Aldermen of the town and Mayor of the Staple; only its laws must always conform to those in force in England.

SOCIAL CALAIS

THE boundaries of the Pale of Calais are difficult to define at any given period. Roughly, the Pale comprised some twenty square miles, stretching from Gravelines nearly to Wissant along the coast, and from six to nine miles inland. But this boundary continually changed. On the south-west especially the French were always annexing small pieces of territory, and this "Picardy encroachment" is often mentioned in State documents. Frequent Commissions were appointed to determine the proper boundary, but the surrender in 1550 of the territory around Boulogne increased rather than diminished the vagueness of delineation. The Pale ought to have been self-supporting, but much of it consisted of ponds and marshes, and the repairs constantly needed for the sea-front and military works entailed a continual drain upon the resources of the inhabitants. The Pale was roughly divided into the high country on the west and the low country on the east. Each had distinctive features. In the former the roads ran circuitously through villages nestling in small valleys; in the latter the roads followed the shortest route, while the country was far more marshy, necessitating the upkeep of ditches and banks, in order that the very existence of the crops might be insured. The large trade passing through Calais rendered imperative the construction and main-

tenance of good roads and canals, and the waterworks served both to reclaim land and provide a means of communication. The English made a network of canals and banks, which ultimately reduced the greater part of the low country to cultivated land, and a jury commissioned by Henry VIII. to inquire into the waterworks of Calais reported that "every ground though it pass not two or three acres large is dyked rounde aboute." The numerous ditches which drained the district ran into large waterways, varying in breadth from 8 to 24 feet, the most famous of which were the River of Hammes, the River of Guisnes, the Flemish Gracht, and the Hoblet. The oldest of the many roads was the Ewlin Way, leading from Sangate to the Field of Arche. Others almost equally important were the New Bullen Way, Guisnes Way, Cobham Way, and Way to Tartar's Land.[1]

It is difficult to describe exactly the appearance of old Calais. Almost all records have disappeared, and we are practically dependent upon a terrier of Edward IV. and the famous survey ordered by Henry VIII., which gives the extent, owners, boundaries, and rent of houses and lands. There is also a map of the time of Henry VIII., showing the external appearance of Calais at that period—the whole extent of the quay, the line of walls from Beauchamp's Bulwark to the castle, and in front Rysbank, with its fort and tower. The town was roughly a parallelogram, with the haven on the north and the parish of St. Peter on the south-east and west. Practically all we know of it is gleaned from records of the half-century immediately preceding the recapture. The Calais of 1556 included the existing town and the ground now occupied by the citadel, but

[1] Dillon, "Calais and the Pale," *Archæologia*, vol. liii., *passim*.

all trace of the English occupation has vanished except the Parish Church and the Staple Inn. Even the names of the streets have been changed. Yet the main features of the town may be conjectured—the churches of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, the Staple Hall and the Town Hall, the Castle, the Exchequer and Palace of Henry VIII., the Square of St. Nicholas. Other familiar landmarks were the Market-Place, the Watch-Tower and Weighing-Place, and the Butcheries. Leading from and to these various buildings and squares were no less than forty-one streets, most of them bearing typically English names, such as Cow Lane, Rigging Street, Duke Street. The rental list of 1556 proves that the chief householders were also English. We learn that Lucas's widow kept "the Redde Crosse," and the names Walter Baker, John Addison, and Hugh Giles also occur. Even in the early part of Elizabeth's reign Englishmen kept hostelries at Calais, providing "entertainment for man and beast," John Masters presiding at the Salamander and Mistress Burton at the Three Heads. The housing capacity of the town may be gauged by the fact that when Henry VIII. visited Calais in 1532 there were found to be 2,400 beds and stabling for 2,000 horses. In 1556 it was computed that there were thirty almshouses, seventy-eight mansions, six brew-houses, eighty-one wool-houses, and twenty-two herring hangs or sales.

As a place of residence Calais was very much like a modern colonial town, possessing both a military and a commercial population. Sir John Paston, who spent some time there, was not prepossessed. In June, 1473, he writes to his son: "I hopyed to have been very mery at Caleys thys Whytsontyde, and am well apparayled and apoynted saff that thes ffolks ffayle me soo and I

have mater ther to make off ryght excellent. Som man wolde have hastyed hym to Caleys thowe he had hadd no better erand and some men thynke it wisdom and profyght to be there now well out off the weye."[1] By November he was completely disillusioned. "I most have myn instrumentes hydder," he writes; "thys most be had to avoyde idelness at Caleys."[2] The truth, doubtless, is that the ordinary routine of Calais life was dull. It was well enough for the merchant haggling with the Flemings, squabbling with the municipal authorities, or canvassing for the mayoral elections; or for the officer clamouring for his wages, or superintending the never-ending repairs and additions to bastions and jetties. But the temporary visitor must have found the time hang heavy on his hands, except during war-time, when troops were passing to and fro, or when some royal or noble personage paid a visit to the town. Even Turpyn, to whom we are indebted for so much of our knowledge of Calais during a portion of the sixteenth century, is reduced to recording on one occasion the appearance of "a swarm of white butterflies that on the 9th of July, 1508, came from the north-east and flew south-eastwards as thick as flakes of snow, so that men in St. Peter's field, without the gates of Calais, could not see the town at four o'clock in the afternoon, they flew so high and so thick"; and on another, the fact that a swarm of bees settled in the ball of the steeple of St. Nicholas, and remained there several hours.

But Calais was not always dull. As in the case of Dover at the present day, prominent personages were constantly passing to and fro, braving the terrors of sea-sickness, which were as characteristic of the Channel

[1] "Paston Letters: Sir John Paston to John Paston, June 3, 1473," vol. iii., pp. 91, 92. Gairdner's edition, 1900.
[2] *Ibid.*, November 22, 1473, p. 102.

as they are now,[1] and foreign visitors were often entertained there on their way to England. In fact, the magnificent state maintained by many of the Tudor Deputies—notably by Lord Berners, an inventory of whose property at the time of his death is extant—goes far to explain the fact that they were frequently in debt. Moreover, unlike the modern Dover, Calais was sometimes the scene of peace negotiations between the Kings of England and the Emperor or the Kings of France, and sometimes the place to which traitors or political prisoners were brought to end their days on the scaffold or within the walls of the castle-palace-prison.

The interesting people who at one time or another visited Calais would defy enumeration. From Calais started that queer pilgrimage of French nobles to Canterbury in 1393. From Calais nearly all the English Kings set out when they raided the possessions of their French neighbours. At Calais Richard Wingfield entertained[2] the Italian Cardinal Luigi of Aragon in 1518 before his intended visit to England. To Calais came the Prince of Salerno in 1540 on his way to England, accompanied

[1] *Cf.* a letter of Paget to Petre, dated February 11, 1545, from Calais, in which the former says: "I was so sick that I would have given £1,000 if I had been a rich man to have been on land" (Gairdner, "Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. xx., pp. 1-137).

[2] Antonio de Beatis, who accompanied the Cardinal on his travels, gives a most flattering description of Calais and its English inhabitants: "Li Inglesi che sono in dicta villa, incominciando dal governatore dicto messer Ricardo Wingfield cinquanti soldati vi sono, con cosi alti, fazzonati et belli huomini come vedesse mai; *donde si può facilmente fare conjectura de la generalità de li Inglesi*"—no small compliment from a foreigner. All were fond of shooting with the bow, an amusement much encouraged by the Governor ("Travels of Cardinal Luigi of Aragon, 1518," by Antonio de Beatis, pp. 122, 123. Ludwig Pastor, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1905.)

by his brother, the Duke of Ferrara, and a retinue of forty gentlemen in black cloth coats. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, paid Calais a visit, and the letter still exists in which he thanks Lord Lisle for his hospitality. Wolsey visited Calais on several occasions. But the most pathetic figure connected with Calais is that of Anne Boleyn. She came over with Princess Mary in 1514, when Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and two other gallants landed at Calais, disguised as palmers, and rode to Paris in "greye coates and whodes, because they would not be knowne," in order to take part in a tournament incognito. She came again in 1532, now Marchioness of Pembroke and mistress of Henry VIII., during which visit we learn that she received a present of fruit from Anne de Montmorency, Great Master of France, and Knight of the Garter, "tipped" her serving-man to the extent of £2 7s. 8d., and won 15s. from Henry at cards. The end of her connection with Calais was tragic. It was by the headsman of Calais that she was executed on May 19, 1536.

When royalty visited Calais, garrison routine was transformed into a courtier's life of gaiety and splendour. Nor were these occasions rare, and the old chroniclers enlarge on the festivities that accompanied them, to the exclusion of other less tempting details which might provide material for more sober history. Edward III. and his Queen resided at the castle for a month after the capture of Calais. The Court was maintained in great magnificence, and vast allowances had to be given to the nobles for their retinues. The Earl of Derby alone spent £100 a day in entertaining. The "poor commons," too, were "plenteously fed." Another memorable incident in the history of royal visits to Calais was the arrival of King John of France after his

capture at Poictiers, in 1360. He was lodged in the castle, together with his son. Soon afterwards Edward III. arrived also. The two monarchs dined together at the castle, Edward characteristically taking the place of honour as guest, regarding himself as being in French territory. Amidst a round of festivities the Treaty of Bretigny was signed, after which ceremony the Kings attended Mass together in the Church of St. Nicholas, and swore to observe the conditions. Even here chivalry must out. Each monarch was loath to sign until the other had done so, and they ended by publicly embracing. Finally, before John's departure on October 27, there was a farewell banquet at the castle, the Black Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, and the great nobles serving bareheaded at table. In 1396 the marriage of Richard II. to Isabella of France afforded an opportunity for great festivities. Richard came to meet her at Calais. Among other nobles the Duke of Burgundy arrived at Guisnes on his way to the wedding. Thence, escorted by the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, he passed on to Calais ; here he was received by the burgesses of Calais, suitably arrayed for the occasion. He was led to a superb tent pitched in the great square. There he gave a costly dinner, after which he was presented with a diamond of great price. The Duke gave King Richard a picture representing the burial of our Lord, and a book containing the history of the Passion, enriched with precious stones. After a meeting of the French and English Kings at Ardres, the marriage was solemnized in St. Nicholas with great pomp.

A more funereal ceremony took place in Calais in 1422, when Henry V.'s body was conveyed thither from Paris with great pomp. In 1469 another magnificent marriage thrilled Calais society, when George, Duke

of Clarence, wedded Isabella, the King-maker's daughter, thus sealing the revolt against Edward IV. This marriage was celebrated by the Archbishop of York in Notre Dame. One of the best illustrations of how a party of nobles employed themselves when despatched to Calais on business is afforded by the "Journal of the Ambassadors," a record of the negotiations carried on at Calais in 1439, with the object of arranging peace with France. Cardinal Beaufort and the Duchess of Burgundy acted as mediators. Beaufort, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Oxford, and other nobles crossed the Channel, to attend the conference. Much of the time was spent in feasting and in listening to sermons from the Bishop of Vique and the Archbishop of York on the joys of peace. On one day there was an excursion to inspect the damage wrought by an irruption of the sea at Newenham Bridge. A patriotic contrast is made in the Journal between the housing of the English nobles and the Burgundians. Beaufort's pavilion was built of timber, covered with new canvas; its length was 100 feet, and it contained a hall large enough to hold 300 persons, a kitchen, pantry, wine-cellar, and two chambers. The Duchess of Burgundy's quarters, on the other hand, were built of "rotten timber, and covered with old canvas."

Under the Tudors life at Calais was extremely cosmopolitan. The "wall of brass" policy of Henry VII., with the marriages and alliances which it involved, and the magnificent projects, fertile in Continental entanglement, entertained by Wolsey and Henry VIII., resulted in constant conferences, treaties, and ceremonies between the various monarchs or their representatives. Calais was almost invariably chosen as the centre for negotiations and the trysting-place of Kings; and Calais society found itself, in consequence, in a constant whirl

of activity for full half a century. Henry VII. passed through Calais on his way to and from the lucrative Treaty of Étaples. He returned again in 1500 with Queen Elizabeth, the Bishop of London and his court, closely followed by Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, with a large retinue, and later by the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Mountjoy. The list of Henry's expenses at Calais during this visit may still be read in the Privy Purse Accounts, from 40s. paid for the boats which plied between the King's ship and the shore, and 13s. 4d. for the minstrels who played on board the *Swan*, to a sum of 6s. 8d. paid respectively to Dego the Spanish fool, and in compensation "to one that hadd corn trodden down."[1]

A great banquet was given to Philip of Burgundy during this visit. For this event St. Peter's Church was partitioned off into various chambers, all of which were richly hung with arras and cloth of gold. "Our Lady's Chapel" was set apart for the Archduke's chamber, its walls being adorned with arras representing the story of Ahasuerus and Esther, and its floor laid with carpets strewn with roses, lavender, and other sweet herbs. Another compartment contained tapestry representing the Siege of Troy. The walls of the choir were covered with blue cloth, and emblazoned with fleur-de-lis. The vestry was hung with red sarscenet, "most richly beseen," while the belfry served as pantry, confectionery, and cellar. At the gorgeous banquet there "lacked neither venison, cream, spice-cakes, strawberries, or wafers"; a fat English ox was "poudered and lesed"; every variety of wine flowed freely, and there were two hogsheads of hippocras. We are told that seven horse-

[1] Privy Purse Accounts of Henry VII., Manuscript Addit., British Museum, 70, 99 ("Excerpta Historica," p. 91).

loads of cherries were consumed, besides "pypyns, grengeges, and other sugardys." So huge was the feast that the guests were unable to consume the viands, and on the second day the peasants were entertained with the plenteous relics. The King and Queen entertained Philip in the largest chamber of all, where the Duke of Buckingham and the Earls of Norfolk and Suffolk seem to have attracted especial attention from the splendour of their costume, the two latter wearing hats plumed with ostrich feathers, garnished with chains of gold. After dinner the Archduke "daunced with the English ladyes," and soon afterwards took his leave, riding the same evening to Gravelines.

Even in his Court entertainments the first of the Tudors displayed his characteristic bent for economy. On the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Mary to the Prince of Castille, arranged in accordance with a letter written by the King to Sir John Wiltshire, Comptroller of Calais, on May 7, 1508, bidding him arrange a marriage alliance with Margaret of Savoy, the following illuminating order was given, amongst many others, regarding the necessaries for the Princess's journey to Calais: She is to take with her "as many peces of fyne serdom and tapicerie welke as will serve for hangyng of two or three chambours where she rides by the waye, or," adds the thrifty King, "ellys the same that she hathe, if it be thoughte holle and welle colored and honest." Still, on the whole, these Tudor entertainments at Calais were magnificently arranged, and caused much trepidation among the responsible officials. There is, for instance, a letter from Sir Nicholas Vaux, probably to Wolsey, expressing the fear that the preparations for the visit of Henry VIII. to Calais in 1520 might not be

completed in time, and anxious letters from the Earl of Worcester to Henry, and from the French Marshal Châtillon to the Earl of Worcester regarding a tilt, show that the Kings exercised a minute supervision of the details.

In Henry VIII.'s reign Calais was often a scene of gaiety. In 1520, indeed, the visit of the Emperor and the Duchess Margaret to meet Henry proved a failure, the altercation between the two Sovereigns being so high that the Emperor very nearly mounted his horse and rode off. But this was an exception. Wolsey's visits to Calais were always attended with great pomp.[1] In 1521 he crossed over with fifty gentlemen, and on this occasion his expenses amounted to £2,385 14s. 6¼d., about £200 being spent in ale, and £20 on beer. He came again in 1527 with a large retinue, 900 horses being required for his train alone. The Pope's Nuncios and French Ambassadors having arrived, numerous conferences took place, extending over a couple of months.

But of all the pageants that grace the annals of Calais, the Field of Cloth of Gold was the most magnificent. The story of this famous meeting between Henry VIII. and Francis needs no telling ; but the preparations for it are worth a passing notice. In the March of 1519 more than 2,000 workmen, including 500 carpenters, 300 masons, with painters, joiners, and other artificers, arrived from England, under charge of three commissioners sent by the King. These proceeded at once to the work of erecting a temporary palace just outside the castle gates of Guisnes. The various parts had already been constructed in England ;

[1] Wolsey was no stranger to Calais, for in 1503 he had gone to serve there under Sir Richard Nanfan, then Deputy Governor of the town, and remained there three years.

the timber came from Holland. The outer walls of this building, which contained arches and staircases, and measured 128 feet in height, were covered with cannon, while the interior contained sculptures, tapestries, cloth of gold and silver, and was hung with green-and-white silk, the favourite Tudor colours. The meeting was remarkably cordial as regards both Kings and courtiers. "There was the lovyngest metying that ever was seen, for the one embraced the other two or three times on horsseback," while the suites "dyd ryde hande in hande with greate love the space of a myle." On every possible opportunity there burst out "a great peale of guns" from all the surrounding forts, both French and English.[1]

Henry VIII. must have been popular with the Calais shopkeepers, for besides the vast expenses of his Court, he privately patronized them. In 1532, for instance, his accounts show that he bought a considerable amount of jewellery in Calais, as well as a hat and plume to wear on his journey to Boulogne. Henry was in many ways a contrast to his father, and especially in his expenditure. He lost large sums at cards during this sojourn at Calais to Lord Norfolk and Lady Pembroke, while one gentleman of the Court won no less than £620 from him.

Anne of Cleves received a warm welcome at Calais on her journey to England in 1539 to marry Henry VIII. The Lord Deputy, De Lisle, and the Earl of Southampton, Great Admiral of England, met her at Gravelines, and escorted her to Calais, whither the Lord High Admiral had sailed specially to fetch her, with a train of thirty gentlemen of the King's household. The sailors belonging to his ships were dressed "in satin of

[1] "The Maner of the Tryumphe at Caley and Bulleyn," by Wynkyn de Worde, pp. 1, 2. British Museum.

Bruges, both coats and slops of the same colour." While Anne was conducted to her lodgings the fleet, gaily dressed, and including the *Lion* and the *Sweepstakes*, saluted with broadsides. The merchants of the Staple gave her 100 broad pieces of gold, and 263 officials and servants were engaged to attend to her wants.

But there were other and less fortunate visitors to Calais. Many political prisoners were brought over from England to languish in the castle, or to be executed. In 1494 Lord Fitzwater was imprisoned at Calais for intriguing against Henry VII., the Governor, the Duke of Bedford, being made responsible for his safe retention. He was executed for trying to escape. In 1506 Edward de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who had been attainted, was captured and brought to Calais before being taken to London for execution; and in 1568 the Marquis of Dorset and Lord William of Devonshire were brought from the Tower to Calais for execution. Only the death of Henry VIII. saved them. A ghastly story is told concerning the death of the Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Richard II. He had been arrested by the Governor of Calais in London and brought over to Calais. On inquiring why he had been conveyed thither, he was told that it was the "King's pleasure." Soon afterwards the arrival of a monk, who proceeded to deliver a homily, warned him of his doom. He was strangled while dipping his fingers in a silver basin. Another famous prisoner in the Castle of Calais was Eleanor of Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, who was imprisoned there for a time for treason and sorcery. An official named Sir John Steward had charge of her, and in his will appears a bequest to a relation of "a ring with a diamond, which Eleanor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, gave me while she lived with me in my prison."

CONCLUSION

It will be worth while to consider, in conclusion, what lessons may be learnt from the history of English rule in Calais, and whether, on the whole, the retention of the town was beneficial to England.

The moral of the history of English dominion over Calais is most emphatically not that long-continued neglect produces inevitable disaster.[1] Calais was not neglected by the great majority of English Kings. Lefebvre's remark that there was only one occasion —the Duke of Burgundy's attack in 1436—when the English appreciated Calais at its true value is quite preposterous. The Kings showed their interest in Calais in every possible way. They appointed their most capable servants as Governors. They interfered in the minutest details of administration. Through the Privy Council they were kept informed of all that was done and all that needed to be done in Calais. They were constantly sending over Commissions to report on the condition of the fortifications and the methods of government adopted by the Staple or municipal authorities. Even Henry VI. in his moments of direst distress never forgot Calais. Henry IV., whose seat

[1] To give one instance, between the years 1533 and 1547 the armament of Calais was increased from 284 to 428 pieces of artillery.

on the throne was always in jeopardy, sent over his best troops to garrison the town. It may be argued with a certain amount of reason that the French Kings were indifferent to the loss of Calais. To accuse the English Kings of neglect is most unjust.[1]

Still, there are two military lessons to be learnt from the history of Calais under the English. One is that possessions in a foreign country can only be maintained by absolutely unremitting attention being bestowed on them. Here the moral does not apply to long-continued neglect, but to momentary neglect. It is an illustration of the old proverb, "Si vis pacem, bellum para." It was not for want of trying that the French had failed to take Calais before; but the English were prepared when De Charney, De Vienne, and the Duke of Burgundy made their attacks, and the mere fact that there were no other regular attacks shows that the French knew how well the English were prepared to repel their assaults. It is, perhaps, not sufficiently recognized on how little depended the success of the French in 1558. The English fortresses were not, on the whole, in very bad repair, and were armed with sufficient guns. "Her Majesty has a great quantity of very fine artillery . . . in the fortresses beyond the sea," wrote Giacomo Sarano, the Venetian Ambassador, to his Government. No less than 300 guns fell into the hands of the French after the capture.[2] But false parsimony had induced Mary's Government to withdraw a large portion of the garrison to England. Scarcity of numbers alone rendered the French successful. There were not

[1] "I do not believe that the castle of St. Peter at Rhodes is more strictly guarded against the Turks than Calais is against the French" ("A Relation of the Island of England about the Year 1500," p. 45).

[2] "Narratione de la Presa di Cales," p. 8. British Museum.

enough men to hold the outlying posts, and the final attack would not have succeeded if Wentworth had had enough troops to meet both the feint and the main attack simultaneously. There is no better example in all history of the necessity for the constant maintenance of the normal standard of military efficiency.

But the history of Calais is also an example of the importance of sea-power[1] in the maintenance of colonies and dependencies. The very existence of Calais depended on the supremacy of the English on the sea, for victuals and supplies of all kinds had perforce to cross the narrow straits.[2] Hence the importance of Beauchamp's buccaneering exploits ; hence the strength of Warwick's position in 1457 when he revolted from Henry VI., and became practically the independent ruler of Calais. The effective co-operation of a Dutch fleet nearly insured the success of the Duke of Burgundy in 1436. Its failure to block the harbour and flight before the English relieving armament secured the

[1] That curious poem "The Libel of English Policy" lays stress on the fact that Calais is the mainstay of English sea-power. Sigismund is represented as addressing Henry V :

> "And when he saw the town of Calais and of Dover,
> Then unto the King spake he : 'My brother,
> If you're to keep the sea, and soon cross over,
> You of your towns must choose one or another,
> From which to make attack, your kingdom to recover.
> Keep, sir, these two, 'neath your supremacy,
> As your two eyes to watch the narrow sea.'"

(T. Wright, "Political Songs and Poems," pp. 157-159. 1861.)

[2] The absolute dependence of Calais on support from the Mother Country is well brought out by the author of that strange production the "Admonition to Callays" : "Thy mother, the staffe of thy defence, is now debilitated and weakened, as wel in worthy captaines and valiante soldiours as in mony monitions and victail, that she is scant able to defend and reliess herselfe, much less then to succor the in thy necessite" ("Admonition to Callays," 1557, p. 4. British Museum).

safety of Calais. The final capture of Calais by the French might have been averted if only a fleet had been ready to convey reinforcements across the Straits. But the Government preferred to fortify the coast of Devonshire rather than to keep the navy efficient, and hasty efforts to equip a fleet proved fruitless against the vigour of the French operations. "Of vast consequence indeed is the dominion of the sea."[1]

The commercial policy of the English Government in regard to Calais happily throws no light upon the thorny question of Protection and Free Trade. The political economy of the Middle Ages differed fundamentally from the political economy of to-day, in so far that the possession of money did in reality constitute wealth, and that the necessity for barter enforced the greatest possible encouragement of Free Trading consistent with the sustenance of the royal finances. The Kings of England were admirable commercial administrators in regard to Calais. The lesson which they hand down to us is that, when possible, the traders of all friendly countries should be granted the same privileges as our own, so long as they do not take advantage of this magnanimity to damage the interests of English commerce.

Opinions as to the value of Calais to England differed even during the period of occupation. John of Gaunt, for instance, who had tenements worth £40 4s in the town, is reported to have said that "Calais grieved more England, and did more hurt thereto than profit for the great expense about the keeping thereof."[2] On the other hand, in 1393 the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester told the French envoys that Calais was the last town which the Crown of

[1] Speech of Pericles, Thucydides, Book I.
[2] *Archæologia*, vol. iii., p. 250.

England would hold. Even now, after the lapse of more than three centuries, it is hard to form an opinion.

The disadvantages are obvious. Like Gibraltar in our own day, Calais was a town isolated from England, and situated in a foreign country. It was a constant eyesore to the French. How greatly they desired its recovery may be appreciated by a very cursory glance at the course of negotiations between England and France during the period of occupation. It has, indeed, been argued that the French Kings were indifferent to the loss of Calais, that they refused to undertake operations for its recovery, and that they even failed to send aid to their vassals when they assailed it of their own accord. All this is true in a sense. The French Sovereigns did little themselves. But the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were an age of devolution and of appanages. It was the great lords who looked after the local interests of kingdoms, and in France especially it was they who indirectly, and, it must be confessed, very intermittently, kept the English in check round Calais. De Charney, successive Dukes of Burgundy, and free-lances like Jean de Croy, upheld the honour of France in the field. But the value of Calais to France was always recognized by her Kings and nobles. In 1374 Charles V. made a great offer to Edward III. if he would surrender Calais.[1] In 1393 the French offered to abandon Limousin, Agenois, Quercy, Rouergne and Perigord, in exchange for Calais.[2] In 1461, by the Treaty of Chinon, Louis XI. lent Queen Margaret, wife of Henry VI., the sum of £20,000, on condition that she induced her husband to give up the town and castle of

[1] Lefebvre, "Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis." [2] *Ibid.*

Calais.[1] Nearly every French King made direct or indirect efforts to retake Calais—Charles V. by cautious skirmishing, Louis XI. by a policy of gradual encroachment, Henry III. by attacking isolated English garrisons. Even the nation at large recognized the importance of the town to France, and in a fourteenth-century ballad by Eustace Deschamps, inveighing against the treaty between France and England arranged in 1394, each stanza ends with the ominous refrain, "Paix n'avey, j'a s'ily ne rendent Calays."[2]

The constant activity of the French necessitated the maintenance of a permanent garrison and the constant removal or erection of fortifications. All this was expensive. The wages of the garrison, the cost of the upkeep of the defences, were a perpetual bugbear to the English Kinge, and absorbed half the proceeds of the Staple.[3] The expenses of Calais were further increased by the importance—partly military, partly agricultural—of keeping in repair roads, waterways, dykes, and jetties. Moreover, Calais was not self-supporting. Not only materials for building, but coal, timber, agricultural implements, often food and domestic animals, had to be transported from England.

Politically, Calais might often be a danger to England. Not only did it afford a constant pretext for the hostility of France, but it provided a rallying-point for domestic disaffection, as when Warwick made it his headquarters during his rebellion from Edward IV. Its isolation enabled it sometimes to defy English public

[1] Moreover, the famous "covetous lord Cordes" is said to have "so sore longed for Calais that he would commonly say that he would gladly lye seven years in hell so that Calais were in the possession of the Frenchman."

[2] "Recueil de Chants François," Le Roux de Lincy, pp. 273, 274. Paris, 1841.

[3] Hall's Chronicle, edition 1550, 4 H. VII., f. xviii.

opinion, and Calais refused to accept the Reformation doctrines, even after the recall of Lord Lisle. Further, the establishment of Calais as the centre of English commercial activity was not without its drawbacks. It was hazardous to store up vast quantities of merchandise in a town situated in the midst of an enemy's country, and liable to incessant attacks. In 1558 the French captured the whole of the wool belonging to the Staple. Besides, it was a real hardship that merchants from all parts of England should be required to bring their goods to Calais, which might entail great expense and much needless travelling for those hailing from Northern districts, such as Cumberland or Northumberland.

It may be granted, then, that Calais had many disadvantages. It absorbed a large force of fighting men, who were expensive; it required many fortifications, which were also expensive. It was isolated, and therefore dangerous politically, commercially, and from a military point of view. It was a perpetual cause of ill-feeling with France. It was not self-supporting, and had practically no products.

Yet there were counterbalancing advantages. Even from a purely military point of view, Calais was of the utmost utility. All fortresses are expensive, and if their possession is valuable, the money is well spent. Now, Calais was exceedingly valuable, and for these reasons: Strategetically it gave the English a permanent entry into French territory. It must be remarked that the real struggle between French and English was not for the North of France, but for the South-West (old Angevin sentiment had centred round Poitou); consequently, the possession of Calais enabled the English to distract the attention of the French in the North, while their main attack was directed on the South, and kept

the French in uncertainty as to where the English intended to strike. Again, the very fact that an armed force had to be maintained at Calais insured the existence of the nucleus of a disciplined army. Calais, in fact, provides the only medieval English example of a standing army. It was the troops which he brought over from Calais that enabled Warwick the Kingmaker to drive Edward IV. out of the kingdom. Experience in war and familiarity with discipline were no slight asset when armies were either feudal or collected by the Sheriff from the riff-raff of the country. Politically, the fact that Calais was isolated may be grossly overrated. Communication, even in the Middle Ages, was usually maintained across the Straits of Dover, and a glance at the records of the Privy Council proves that, so far from Calais being isolated, the smallest details were subject to criticism and arrangement by the authorities at home. There are instances, of course, of a spirit of independence unduly displayed by individuals —Lisle, and Warwick, and William of Beauchamp. Sometimes the garrison defied the royal authority, as when they refused to accept anybody but Warwick for their commander; but so long as the offending parties did not intrigue with the French—and this practically never occurred—they were easily repressed, for their very food-supply depended on the friendship of the home Government.

But in truth the importance of Calais to England was neither military nor political, but commercial. But for its vast importance as a trade-centre, the English Kings would not for the moment have maintained it merely as a fortress. Money—for in those days money really was wealth—was the great need of medieval Kings, and Calais with its Staple brought in a con-

stant supply of money to the English Kings.[1] Even Edward III., fighter as he was, recognized that Calais must be retained for trade, and trade alone. Here the advantages are obvious. It is true that for a long time Parliament and English public opinion viewed with jealousy the establishment of the Staple in a foreign country; but this was nothing to the jealousy which would have arisen if a port in England had been selected as the Staple. At any rate, Calais insured that no particular English port was favoured unduly by the Sovereign. Moreover, customs and dues could be collected with far greater care, and fraud more easily be detected, at Calais than at an English port. It was more convenient, too, for foreign merchants. The journey was easy to Calais from Flanders, and no risk of shipwreck was involved. Business could be transacted on what was practically neutral ground. The increase of commerce meant increase of intercourse between English merchants and foreigners. This is always beneficial to an island nation, for it prevents what in an individual is vulgarly called "vegetating." A report which Giovane Michele sent to the Venetian Government shows that he appreciated the importance of Calais to England:[2] "Another frontier besides that of Scotland, and of no less importance for the security

[1] The English Kings, in fact, were able to provide for the defence of the French and the Scottish Marches out of their income from the Calais Staple. In 1421, for instance, the expenses of Calais amounted roughly to £21,119, and those of Berwick to £19,550, while the Staple brought in about £40,676, just meeting the demand. This bears out the statement of a Venetian authority of about 1500: "All the proceeds of the Wool-staple are assigned to the maintenance of the guard at Calais and Berwick" ("A Relation of the Island of England about the Year 1500," p. 50 and note. Camden Society).

[2] "Chronicle of Calais," p. 140. Camden Series.

of the kingdom, though it be separated, is that which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses—Calais and Guisnes—guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy; especially Calais, for this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions, without which the English would have no outlet from their own, nor access to other countries—at least, none so easy, so short, and so secure; so much so that if they were deprived of it, they would not only be shut out from the Continent, but also from the commerce and intercourse of the world. They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary for the existence of a country, and become dependent upon the will and pleasure of other Sovereigns in availing themselves of their ports, beside having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage; whereas by way of Calais, which is directly opposite to the harbour of Dover, distant only about thirty miles, they can at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, at their pleasure, enter or leave the harbour (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors), and carry over either troops or anything else for warfare, offensive and defensive, without giving rise to jealousy and suspicion; and thus they are enabled, as Calais is not more than ten miles from Ardres, the frontier of the French, nor farther from Gravelines, the frontier of the Imperialists, to join either the one or the other as they please, and to add their strength to him with whom they are at amity, in prejudice of an enemy."

John of Gaunt was indeed in the wrong if he ever believed that Calais was not worth the keeping. Even Mary recognized its value. In a frantic and tardy appeal, issued on January 7, 1558—the very day of the

capture of Calais—to the leading gentlemen in every shire to raise men for the relief of the town, she calls it "the chief Jewell of the realme." The people of England recognized it; the Spanish Ambassador Feira reported to his master that "when Calais was captured, many Englishmen ceased to go to church," and such sayings went abroad as "England is as a bone between two dogs," and "They will make a Piedmont of England."

With greater reason, however, it may be argued that Calais had by 1558 outlasted its utility. Its loss was disgraceful, but it was not a national disaster, apart from the fact that it involved diminished prestige in Europe; for as a fortress its value was gone. The Hundred Years War was over, and instead of a valuable gate into France, it became merely an obstacle to peace. Moreover, the Staple had miserably declined, and that new epoch which Mr. Froude has so eloquently described had already dawned, influencing commerce as it influenced every other sphere of human activity. Trade became oceanic, and so vast a change could not be met by the traditional policy of the English Kings. Calais had served its turn. Like all ancient heirlooms, it was long regretted by the generation which witnessed its fall. We who look back over the centuries, while deploring an ignoble incident in our military annals, may deem it fortunate that England was deprived of a possession most valuable in the past at the very moment when it was gradually becoming an encumbrance.

APPENDIX I

CHANSON NOUVELLE DE LA PRINSE DE CALAIS[1]

CALAIS ville imprenable,
Recognois ton seigneur
Sans estre variable ;
Ce sera ton honneur.

On va partout disant
Jusques en Normandie
Et riant et chantant
Par toute Picardie,
Que Calais la jolye
Est prinse de Françoys
Malgré toute l'envoye
Des Bourguignons Anglois.

Calais ville imprenable, etc.

Deux cens ans et plus
As este Bourguignonne,
Mais tu es rué jus ;
C'est à eux grand vergogne.
Quoi que l'empereur grogne
Luy et tous les Anglois,
Tu es comme Peronne
Subjetté aux François.

Calais ville imprenable, etc.

Espagnols, Bourguignons
Ils meurent de grant rage,
Car leurs doubles canons
Sonts prins et leur passage

[1] "Recueil de Chants François," Le Roux de Lincy, pp. 211-213. Paris, 1841.

Est rompu au rivage
De la mer ceste fois
Visiter les Anglois.

Calais ville imprenable, etc.

APPENDIX II

AUTHORITIES FOR THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE PALE

1. "CALAIS and the Pale," by Viscount Dillon (*Archæologia*, vol. liii.), in which all the undermentioned authorities are cited.
2. "Survey of Calais and the Pale in 1556," in two large volumes in the Record Office; vols. ccclxxi. and ccclxxii. of miscellaneous books formerly in the Augmentation Office.
3. "Terrier of Edward IV." (Record Office, Augmentation Office, Book 407).
4. Harleian MS. 380; gives rental of Crown land, etc., in Edward VI.'s reign.
5. A MS. in Record Office, described as "Calais: Liberties and Privileges," 1 Hen. VIII., Duchy of Lancaster, Cl. xxv., Mn. 23.

Maps.

1. Rouse's "Life of Richard, Earl of Warwick," *c.* 1487 (Cottonian MS., Julius, E iv.; printed in vol. ii. of Strutt's "Horda," Plate liv.; sketch showing the siege in 1436.)
2. Cottonian MS., August 1, ii. 71; views and plans of Calais and the Pale in Henry VIII.'s reign.
3. Tapestry of Field of Cloth of Gold at Hampton Court.

Plans.

Newenham Bridge (Cottonian MS., August 1, ii. 71).
Guisnes Castle (Cottonian MS., August 1, ii. 71).
Hammes (Cottonian MS., August 1, ii. 71).

APPENDIX III

SOME GENERAL AUTHORITIES

1. Bernard, " Annales de Calais et du Calaisis " (St. Omer, 1715).
2. R. Calton, " Annals and Legends of Calais."
3. Lefebvre, " Histoire Générale et Particulière de Calais et du Calaisis," 2 volumes.
4. Rymer, " Fœdera."
5. " Chronicle of Calais," Camden Series.
6. " Memoirs of Philip de Commines," vol. i.
7. " Chants Historiques et Populaires du Temps de Charles VII., et de Louis XI.," by le Roux de Lincy (Paris, 1857).
8. " Recueils de Chants François," by le Roux de Lincy (Paris, 1841).
9. Dillon, " Calais and the Pale " (*Archæologia*, vol. liii.).
10. Georges Daumet, " Calais sous la Domination Anglaise."
11. Froissart's " Chronicles," Luce's edition.
12. Monstrelet's " Chronicles," vol. ii.
13. " Copia di una Lettera della Presa di Cales, per il re Christianissimo " (British Museum).
14. " Narratione de la Presa di Cales " (British Museum).
15. Demotier, " Annales de Calais depuis les Temps les plus Recalés jusqu'à nos Jours."
16. " The Maner of the Tryumphe at Caleys and Bulleyn," by Wynkyn de Worde (British Museum).
17. " Admonition to Calleys, 1551 " (British Museum).
18. French Rolls, Staple Rolls, etc., in Public Record Office.
19. Rolls of Parliament.
20. Statutes of the Realm.
21. Proceedings of the Privy Council.
22. " Paston Letters."

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